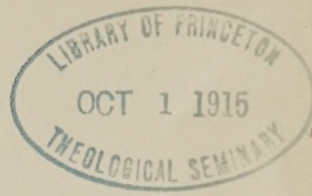


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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

PUBLICATIONS OF THE BABYLONIAN SECTION

Vol. X

No. 1

SUMERIAN EPIC OF PARADISE, THE FLOOD
AND THE FALL OF MAN


BY

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PHILADELPHIA

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

1915



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THE SUMERIAN EPIC OF PARADISE, THE FLOOD AND THE FALL OF MAN

INTRODUCTION

In the autumn of 1912 the author copied, among about fifty others, a triangular fragment of a tablet in the Nippur collection in the Museum. This fragment, which had been numbered 4561, can be distinguished clearly in the right upper corner of the obverse and right lower corner of the reverse of the restored tablet shown in Plates V and VI which show the tablet in its natural size. The contents of this fragment were first mentioned by my colleague, PROFESSOR SAYCE, at the June meeting of the *Society of Biblical Archaeology* in London, at which our lamented friend, PROFESSOR R. F. HARPER, was present and contributed memorable remarks.¹ An epitome soon afterwards appeared in the *London Times*. Later the Museum authorities found other portions of this remarkable text which obviously contains a Sumerian version of the Flood and the Fall of Man, antedating by at least a thousand years the version in Hebrew. The photograph will show how well the Museum authorities have succeeded. To my original fragment they have added one large fragment and one small one which practically restores this large six column tablet. This edition has been made from my copy of the original fragment and photographs of the later joins.

The composition is of an epical nature and probably represents more nearly than any production yet discovered the

¹ The author published an account of this fragment in the June number of PSBA. 1913.

national epic of the religious and cultured Sumerian people. The theme is too humanitarian and universal to be called national, but in those days, and in that part of the world, Sumerian culture was synonymous with world culture and her great religious traditions became universal traditions, adopted by the Semitic peoples who subsequently came upon the scene of history. The colophon describes the composition as a "hymn of praise."¹

SYNOPSIS

The theme which inspired this epic is the Fall of Man, and it will be generally admitted that this theme suggests the most profound ideas and inspires the deepest emotions of man. Enki the water god and his consort Ninella or Damkina ruled over mankind in paradise, which the epic places in Dilmun. In that land there was no infirmity, no sin and man grew not old. No beasts of prey disturbed the flocks, and storms raged not. In a long address to her consort, Ninella glorifies the land of Dilmun, praising its peace and bliss. And all things were so.

But for some reason which is all too briefly defined Enki the god of wisdom became dissatisfied with man and decided to overwhelm him with his waters. This plan he revealed to Nintud the earth mother goddess, who with the help of Enlil the earth god had created man. According to Col. II 32 Nintud under the title Ninharsag assisted in the destruction of humanity. For nine months the flood endured and man dissolved in the waters like tallow and fat. But Nintud had planned to save

¹ *zag-sal*. For a similar composition see BE. XXXI 14-18, a hymn to Dungi. Connected with this liturgical note is the use of the verb *zag-sal* at the end of cylinders A, B of Gudea; see SAK. 122; 140.


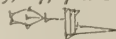



the king and certain pious ones. These she summoned to the river's bank where they embarked in a boat. After the flood Nintud is represented in conversation with the hero who had escaped. He is here called Tagtug and dignified by the title of a god. He becomes a gardener for whom Nintud intercedes with Enki and explains to this god how Tagtug escaped his plan of universal destruction. This at any rate is the natural inference to be made from the broken passage at the end of Col. III of the obverse and the beginning of Col. I of the reverse. Enki became reconciled with the gardener, called him to his temple and revealed to him secrets. After a break we find Tagtug instructed in regard to plants and trees whose fruit the gods permitted him to eat. But it seems that Nintud had forbidden him to eat of the cassia. Of this he took and ate, whereupon Ninharsag afflicted him with bodily weakness. Life, that is good health in the Babylonian idiom, he should no longer see. He loses the longevity of the prediluvian age.

Such in the Sumerian epic is the conception of the fall of man. His great loss consists in being deprived of extreme longevity and good health. The fall from primeval sinlessness is not mentioned here. But we infer from column two that sin had already entered into the souls of men before the flood and caused Enki to send that great catastrophe. In a real sense, therefore, our epic contains both the fall from purity and the fall from longevity. The latter is brought about by eating of the tree, and this was considered the greater disaster. We now find that man is fallen on toil and disease. Wherefore the gods send him patrons of healing, of plants, and various arts to comfort him and aid him in his struggle for existence.

DILMUN

Tablet No. 4561 locates Paradise in Dilmun and apparently Tagtug the gardener dwelled here after the flood. Also the epical fragment of Creation and the Flood published by Dr. Poebel says that Ziudgiddu, the king who survived the deluge, received eternal life and lived in the mountain of Dilmun.¹ This land is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of all periods as an important province in the extreme south of Babylonia. Sargon the ancient speaks of Dilmun in connection with the Sea Land,² after which he turned his attention to Der a city in Ashnunnak on the Elamitic border.

Magan (Arabia), Meluhha (Egypt), Gubi and the mountain of Dilmun are mentioned together by Gudea,³ and the boats of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha occur together in a lexicographical list.⁴ The copper of Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha is mentioned in another text.⁵ Geographical lists also connect Eridu and Dilmun,⁶ a fact of special interest, since Eridu, on the Euphrates near the head of the Persian Gulf, is the most famous center of the cult of Enki the water god. Our text affords abundant proof that Enki was also connected with the religious traditions of Dilmun. Nebo, the city god of Barsippa and also connected with the Enki water cult, has at least eleven Sumerian titles as a god in Dilmun, whence we may suppose that

¹ The classical ideogram for Dilmun is  and in the earliest known Sumerian passage it has also this form, Gudea, St. D IV 10, as in CT. 15, 27, 7 a Sumerian text of the Isin period. But IV Raw. 36 No. 1 Obv. A 21 has the form  and our text has  and . No. 4562, 2 (a text copied by the author) has .

² KING, *Chronicles* II 92.

³ St. D IV 10.

⁴ AL³ 88 V 5-7. Note also that Sargon, the ancient, conquers Dilmun, Magan and Meluhha, CT. 13, 44 B 16.

⁵ V Raw. 27A 25-7.

⁶ II R. 53A 11.

Barsippa derived this deity from Dilmun.¹ Also Zarpanit, consort of Marduk, son of Enki, has seven Sumerian titles as a deity of Dilmun.² Thus Dilmun was associated with the water god in the earliest Sumerian traditions and in Babylonian theology.

Still more noteworthy is the constant association of Dilmun with Elam and Anšan. Zarpanit of Dilmun is followed by the Zarpanit of Elam in a theological list of gods.³ Astrological texts also reflect the ancient importance of Dilmun and its association with Elam, in that eclipses occurring in the third month (Sivan) portend the ruin of the king of Dilmun, and those occurring in the second month (Ajar) portend the ruin of the king of Elam.⁴

DELITZSCH many years ago identified Dilmun with the island Bahrein;⁵ although that scholar does not expressly defend this identification, yet this inference has been accepted and generally adopted. The identification with the largest of the Bahrein islands has been suggested to scholars by passages in the inscriptions of Sargon, who in describing his invasion of Bit-Jakin (the seacoast land at the head of the Persian Gulf) and Elam says, "Upiri king of Dilmun, who had made an abode in the midst of the sea towards the East, like a fish a distance of 30 *kasgid* heard of the might of my royal power and brought tribute."⁶ If this passage be taken literally we must infer that an island is intended, or as DELITZSCH says, "at any rate a peninsula." But we now know that in Assyrian historical inscriptions the

¹ CT. 25, 35A 20-30.

² *Ibid.* 12-18.

³ *Ibid.* l. 19.

⁴ VIROLLEAUD, *Sin*, XXXIII. See JASTROW, *Religion*, II 505.

⁵ See DELITZSCH, *Wo Lag Das Paradies?*, 178.

⁶ WINCKLER, *Sargon*, p. 61 l. 370; 84 l. 20; cf. 64 l. 381; 126, 144; 150, 55; 180, 23.

kasgid or hour's march was 5346 meters¹ or 3.3218+ English miles. If we suppose that Sargon intended to state the distance from the innermost shore of the Persian Gulf as it was in his day, that is 15 or more miles further inland than at present, we assume that Dilmun lay about 100 miles from that point, say a degree and a half south of modern Basra. Of course Dilmun, if it designated a province on the Elamitic side of the Persian Gulf in the region of modern Laristan, may have included all the small islands off that coast such as Shaikh Shuaib, Kais and Kishm. All of these are considerably more than 100 miles from Basra, but Sargon may be using some point farther south as his place of reckoning. Dilmun cannot be an island in another passage of this same Sargon who says, "The land Bit-Jakin which lies on the shore of the salt stream² as far as the boundaries of Dilmun as one land I ruled."³ Here Dilmun and Bit-Jakin form a contiguous territory. On the whole the identification with a strip of land from about the twenty-ninth degree of latitude southward along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf including the islands off the coast perhaps as far as the strait of Ormuz and the Arabian Sea will satisfy all the known references concerning Dilmun. The expression of Sargon, "in the midst of the sea," will then refer to one of the small islands of the province to which the king Upiri fled.

This location of the Sumerian Paradise will explain also the curious geographical boundary given in the Hebrew tradition concerning the Garden of Eden. In Chapter II 10-14 of Genesis the Hebrew preserves a geographical description which is ob-

¹ So F. THUREAU-DANGIN in a letter to the author who bases his calculations upon the length of the side of the stage tower in Babylon, 91 m. (not 100 as Weissbach gave) which results in 5346 m., not 6014 m. as previously calculated.

² *I. e.*, the Persian Gulf, *nāru marratu*.

³ WINCKLER, *ibid.*, 84 l. 25; cf. 138, 19 and below 15; 144, 19; 152, 86; 160, 26.

viously derived from Sumero-Babylonian cosmology and can be understood only by comparing the description with a Babylonian map of the world as they understood it. Fortunately such a map for early Babylonian and Assyrian cosmology exists.¹ Here Babylon is the center of a flat circular surface, with the land of Aššur located to the right. On the upper edge the draughtsman indicates mountains, probably the highlands of Armenia. In the right lower corner is the city Dir and at the left bottom Bit-Ja'kinu or the seacoast lands. Beyond this to the south appear canals (*é-ku*) and marshes (*aḫḫaru*). In the upper left corner, *i. e.*, in the northwest, the scribe places the Hittites (*ḫa-at-tim*). Around this circular world flows the *nâru mar-ra-tum*, the bitter river, which is the Babylonian name for the Persian Gulf. Beyond this stream lie at least five regions or countries of whose existence the geographers had a vague notion.

Let us suppose that the ancient Sumerians held the same conceptions in regard to Paradise. Around it flowed the "Bitter Stream," or the Persian Gulf, upon whose eastern bank tradition located Paradise in the land of Dilmun. Into this stream on the north flow the Tigris and Euphrates. In the far southeast the Indus flows into the Arabian Sea, which the Sumerians probably regarded as a continuation of the world encircling bitter stream and in the far southwest flows the Nile from Ethiopia into the Mediterranean Sea in which they saw the western segment of the same bitter stream. Now all this agrees admirably with the Biblical account. "And a river issued from Eden to water the garden and thence it divided itself and became four branches." This river issuing forth from Eden is the Persian Gulf and the

¹ Published by R. C. THOMPSON, CT. XXII 48. This tablet probably belongs to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty.

encircling bitter stream as SAYCE first saw.¹ In Hebrew and Assyrian idiom *rêš nâri*, ראש נהר, “head of a stream,” or “head,” when applied to streams means the mouth of the river, as DELITZSCH *Paradise* has long since emphasized. The four branches are rivers which flow into the stream which constantly encircles Paradise. “The name of the first is Pîshon; this is the one that surrounds all the land of Havilah where there is gold.” The Pîshon I would identify with the Indus which would lead us to assume that Havilah here indicates India or in a vague manner the far east. “And the name of the second river is Gîhon; this is the one that surrounds all the land of Ethiopia.” Jewish and Christian tradition identified this river with the Nile and the identification follows both from the connection with Ethiopia and from Babylonian cosmology. “And the name of the third river is Hîddekel,² which is the one flowing before Aššur.” The city Aššur, which lay on the eastern bank of the Tigris below the greater Zab, appears to have been unknown to Sumerian rulers as late as the era of Dungi (*circa* 2400 B.C.). The city itself was a Mitanni or Hittite foundation and not until shortly before Sumuabu, founder of the first Babylonian dynasty (*circa* 2232–2218 B.C.), do we hear of Semitic rulers at Aššur. But cities in northern Mesopotamia such as Aššur and Karkemish according to recent excavations at low levels on those sites are shown to be extremely old, perhaps even older than the more famous cities of Sumer which surpassed them in culture and fame. In any case we cannot suppose that Aššur was unknown to the early Sumerians at least in a vague way and consequently the mention of Aššur here does not imply that the source Gen. II 10–14 is of later origin than the other portions

¹ See SAYCE, *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 95 ff.

² *I. e.*, the Tigris.

of the Hebrew story of Creation, Paradise and the Fall of Man in Gen. II 4-III 24. Genesis II 14 states finally that the fourth branch of the encircling stream is the Euphrates. The Biblical statement is, therefore, perfectly intelligible when the passage has been interpreted on the basis of Babylonian cosmology.

THE END OF PARADISE

Our poem omits the primitive history of the Creation and prediluvian kings, for its motive is to describe the Fall of Man. It begins, therefore, with a description of the blissful state of man as it existed immediately before the Flood. In all the land of Sumer men and animals dwelled together in peace; sin and disease had not yet afflicted humanity. And in this land lay an especially favored garden in Dilmun. Dilmun has two designations which are indicated by two ways of writing the name, *dilmun-ki*, "the city of Dilmun,"¹ and *kùr-dilmun*, "the mountain of Dilmun," or more accurately "the Dilmunian mountain." This is the method employed in our tablet and in POEBEL, *Cr.* VI 12. Ordinarily, however, *kùr-dilmun-ki* is employed for "the mountain of Dilmun."² According to Sumerian grammar *kùr* prefixed to a name indicates the land of which the city in question is the capital. Strictly speaking we should render *kùr-dilmun* by the "Land or Province of Dilmun." But *kùr* means both mountain and land. In case of those provinces which were mountainous the Sumerians and Babylonians spoke of it as the "Mountain of X," and not the "Land of X." An interlinear text has *pú kùr-dilmun-ki-ka = ina bur-ti ša-di-i dil-mun*, "At the well of the Mountain of Dilmun (Ishtar washed her head)."³

¹ For the original use of *ki* to designate only a city, see *Sum. Gr.* p. 58.

² Gudea, St. D IV 10.

³ ASKT. 127, 37.

The reader will, therefore, understand that *dilmun-ki* means the city, *kùr dilmun*, the province or land which is here rendered by "Mountain of Dilmun."

Since after the Flood the king Tagtug becomes a gardener and a garden is expressly mentioned,¹ and since after the curse Dilmun is mentioned as under the protection of one of the patron genii, we infer that the Sumerians regarded the Land of Dilmun as the garden of Paradise and the religious center of Sumer. Of its city Dilmun, where Enki the water god ruled mankind and in whose temple he revealed secrets to Tagtug, our epic says, "His city was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer)." Sumer or the land of the Sumerians is related to the land of Dilmun in the same way as in the Hebrew גֵּן בְּעֵדֶן, "A garden in Eden,"² Eden³ or the plain of southern Mesopotamia is related to the garden.

According to the Hebrew version the first of mankind Adam and his consort forfeited the blessings of Paradise almost immediately after the Creation. On the other hand, the Sumerian version allows us to infer that mankind enjoyed this blissful state until the Flood. In the days of one Tagtug who is mentioned as a king, and probably the king of Dilmun, man became sinful and so Enki⁴ ended the Utopian age with the Deluge.

THE POEM ON THE CREATION AND THE FLOOD

A poem on the Creation and the Flood, likewise in six columns and in the same script as the one under discussion and also found in the Museum collections (No. 10673), belongs

¹ Rev. I 27.

² Gen. II 8.

³ *Eden* in Sumerian does not mean a barren plain but a wide stretch of flat land and more often refers to meadow lands.

⁴ Enki is the Oannes of Berossus. He appears in religious texts most frequently under the title *E-a*, or god of the water-house, a name which is preserved by Damascius as Aos (Ἄος).

to the same cycle of epical literature concerning the origin and fall of man. This composition, which has been published by DR. POEBEL in Vols. IV and V, is unfortunately much more fragmentary than the text of No. 4561. The styles of the two poems are strikingly similar. The tablet previously published is devoted entirely, so far as the fragment permits us to infer, to the period from the Creation to and including the Flood. It appears to have described somewhat minutely the creation of man and the political affairs of Sumer before the Flood. Also the Flood is minutely described, but the portion of the fragment which gave the reason why Enki destroyed mankind is not preserved. At the end we learn that the gods caused the king Ziudsuddu, who escaped, to dwell in Dilmun. Evidently the postdiluvian history of man did not form part of the theme of this epic as it does in our own. Moreover, it agrees with the Semitic Babylonian account in two vital matters. The name of the royal hero of the Flood, *Zi-ud-sud-du*,¹ is obviously identical with *Zi-ud*, the Sumerian original of *Uta-napishtim*, Semitic name of this hero in the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamish, where the Semitic Babylonian version is given at great length. The element *suddu*, which means "to be long," had been omitted before the name was translated into Semitic. And like the Semitic Babylonian version this hero is transferred to the island of the blessed. For in Poebel's tablet we must assume that Dilmun still retains after the Flood its ancient character of a land of the blessed. Sumerian tradition probably rehearsed the story of this hero's translation to one of the islands off the coast of Dilmun the ancient land of Paradise. And the Semitic

¹ In this name we have an excellent example of the Sumerian method of forming compounds by placing the construct after the genitive. *Zi-ud=ud-zi*, "breath of life," is rendered into Semitic by the only construction possible in Semitic, viz. construct and genitive. The full translation should be *Uta-napishti-arik*, "Long is the breath of life." See PSBA 1914, 190.

version says that Utanapishtim was made like the gods and taken by them to a far-away place at the mouth of rivers. This probably refers to Dilmun, the traditional Paradise into whose encircling stream poured the four great rivers of the primitive cosmos. This tradition of the translation of the hero of the Flood to the blessed isle must have been widely spread among ancient peoples and it is curious that it has not survived in Hebrew tradition.¹ Berossus, as reported by Polyhistor, says that this hero, whom he calls Xisuthrus, disappeared in the air and was seen no more, and Abydenus reports Berossus to have written that "The gods translated him from among men."

THE REFERENCES TO THE CREATION OF MAN

As we have seen, our poem refers to the creation of man only incidentally. According to Babylonian tradition, as reported in Berossus, ten kings ruled from the creation of man until the Flood and these reigns covered a period of 432,000 years. Our composition in regard to this long period during which there was no sin and men grew not old, makes no reference to these ten kings, but begins with the last of the kings who ruled in pre-diluvian times. In the description of the Flood, however, our text says that "Nintud mother of the Land (of Sumer) had begotten mankind."² The verb employed here means ordinarily "to beget, give birth to," and another passage is still more explicit. The mother goddess under the title Ninharsag says to the Earth God Enlil, "I have begotten thee children."³ And

¹ This part of the tradition has in some way attached itself to Enoch in Hebrew. So far as Noah is concerned Hebrew tradition follows our epic and not the more current traditions discussed above.

² *in-tu-ud*, Obv. II 46; III 20.

³ *mu-e-ši-du-mu-un*, Rev. II 41. The verb *dumu* is connected with the noun *dumu*, "son."

Enlil is also called "the begetter," or "father begetter," the same verb being employed as in the case of Ninharsag.¹ All these references to the direct descent of man from the Earth God and the Earth Goddess we must interpret figuratively.² Sumerian, Babylonian and Hebrew tradition agree in regarding man as a creature fashioned in some mysterious manner by the hands of the gods or a god. Undoubtedly the Sumerians, whose greatest and most ancient deity was mother earth, attributed the creation of human kind exclusively to this virgin goddess, a rôle which became attached to that type of mother goddess who presided over childbirth. In the evolution of this religion the earth god, primarily the brother³ of the mother goddess, became associated with her in the creation of man; the Sumerian Epic of the Creation and the Deluge speaks also of Anu the heaven god and Enki the water god as deities who assisted the earth goddess and the earth god in fashioning the "Dark-headed people,"⁴ and the creatures of the field. But the references to the creation of man in Sumerian and Babylonian poetry generally agree in describing the mother goddess, under the titles Aruru and Mami, as the deity who made man from clay. In the poem of

¹ Rev. II 42.

² Note for example *Code of Hammurapi* 44, 43, where Hammurapi speaks of Nintud as *ummu bānīti*, "my mother who begat me," a purely figurative expression which describes Nintud as the patroness of childbirth. Also Nebuchadnezzar speaks of the mother goddess as ^u*Maḥ ummu bānīti-ja*, VAB. IV 128, 16.

³ In the same way, Innini the major type of mother goddess, is originally the sister and consort of Tammuz, the god of vegetation. For Aruru as sister of Enlil see MEEK, BA X pt. 1 No. 11, 13, ^d*A-ru-ru SAL+KU(aḫatu)* ^d*Mu-ul-lil-lá*, "Aruru sister of Enlil;" cf. CRAIG, RT. 19, 6 and BL., 88, 3+34, 2. Note also that she is the aunt of Lillu, son of Enlil; [^d*A-ru-ru ama-tūr* ^d*Lil-ra-ge*, "Aruru the aunt of Lillu;" ^d*Lil-ra*, *i. e.*, *Lir-ra* is a son of Ninlil, consort of Enlil, CT. 24, 26, 107. *Lirra*, *Lilla* is a variant of Lillu, title of Ninib, son of Enlil, II R. 57, 66. The passage on which this relation of Aruru to the earth god is based was previously misunderstood; see SBP. 24, 3.

⁴ Col. I 13 f. Here the verb is *dim*, ordinarily used for "to build"

Atarhasis¹ and Ea, Mami the mother goddess restores men upon the earth by creating them from clay.

“When she had recited her incantation and had cast² it upon her clay, fourteen pieces she pinched off. Seven pieces on the right she placed, and seven pieces on the left she placed. Between them she put a brick . . . she opened. She . . . the wise *wives*, seven and seven mother wombs; seven create males and seven create females. The mother womb³ creatress of fate caused them⁴ to complete,⁵ yea these she caused to complete (their offspring) in her own likeness.⁶ The designs of men Mami designed.” A religious text of the late Assyrian period in form of an acrostic has the line, “The workmanship of the hand of Aruru are the things with the breath of life altogether.”⁷

Not only did the Sumerians and Babylonians retain this tradition concerning the creation of man from clay at the hand of Aruru, but they believed her capable of thus creating a human being at any time and for any necessity. In the first book of

¹ In this legend which describes the repeated affliction and final annihilation of humanity by plagues Atarhasis probably represents the last of the ten kings and the hero of the Flood. The legend probably refers to a tradition in which mankind succumbed to famine, drought or pestilence and not to a flood, but from this annihilation Atarhasis escaped. The text is badly damaged (CT. 15, 49) so that the general import cannot be divined. See DHORME, *Choix de Textes Religieux* 128-130; ROGERS, *Cuneiform Parallels* 113-121.

² Read [ta-at-]ta-di, and for the verb *nadû* employed with *šiptu*, cf. *idišuma šiptam*, “over him cast the curse.” This act is distinct from the recitation (*manû*) of the curse, and refers to mystic movements with the hands.

³ A title of Aruru.

⁴ *I. e.*, fourteen mothers who begat males and females.

⁵ *Ukalala*, historical present. With this passage compare *Ham. Code*, III 27, *ša u-ša-ak-li-lu-šu e-ri-iš-tum* ^{iat} *Mama*, “(Hammurapi) whom the wise Mama (=Mami) caused to be perfected (in his mother’s womb).”

⁶ *maḥ-ru-ša*; this interpretation was suggested by DHORME and is supported by the Sumerian hymn to Nintud, BL. 88, 21; 89, 10; 90, 24, etc. where woman is said to be created like Nintud in form.

⁷ *lipit kat* ^{iat} *Aruru miḥariš napīšti*, CRAIG, RT. 51, 24; MARTIN, *Textes Religieux* 184; A. JEREMIAS, *Handbuch der allerorientalischen Geisteskultur* 334.

the Epic of Gilgamish, the people of Erech call upon her to create a being capable of protecting them from the violence of Gilgamish.

“Unto the mighty Aruru they called. ‘Thou O Aruru hast created [Gilgamish], and now create his likeness. Like unto the spirit of his heart may his spirit be.¹ May they strive with each other and may Erech repose.’² When Aruru heard this she formed a likeness of the god Anu in her mind. Aruru washed her hands; clay she pinched off and cast it upon the field . . . Enkidu she fashioned, the hero.³”

The only important Sumerian hymn to Aruru as the creatress of men is the interesting but badly damaged liturgy to her in eight sections inscribed on a prismatic prayer wheel now in the Ashmolean Museum.⁴ Although this important text has been

¹ Read with JENSEN, *a-na ū-um libbi-šu lu-u ma-[ši-il ū-um-šu]*. For *ūmu*, spirit, soul, see SBP. 98 n. 7. For *mašālu* construed with *ana*, cf. *išten ana šanē la mušul*, “One is not compared to another,” HARPER, *Letters* 355, 17. *ana alakti rabūti-šu la umaššalu ilu ašumma*, “No god can do ought comparable to the ways of his greatness, K. 8519, Rev. 2 f.

² So, after DHORME.

³ DHORME, *Choix de Textes*, 186, 30-188, 35.

⁴ The text was published in *Babylonian Liturgies* No. 197 and a Constantinople duplicate will be found in my *Historical and Religious Texts* No. 23. RADAU, *Miscel.* No. 8 furnishes a variant of Col. IV and partially restores the seventh section of this litany. This latter variant escaped me when I edited the text. RADAU, 8 Obv. 1=BL. 92, 30 and the end of the sixth section is identical on both texts.

The seventh section can be much restored from the variant in the University Museum. Col. IV 2=Radau 8, 7:

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| 2. <i>é aṣag-dib-bi é-nun</i> | 2. <i>To the temple, to which the holy enter, the shrine,</i> |
| 3. <i>é Keš-(ki) aṣag-dib-bi⁽¹⁾nun⁽²⁾</i> | 3. <i>To the temple of Keš, to which the holy enter, the shrine,</i> |
| 4. <i>é-a⁽³⁾ en-bi dA-nun-na-meš</i> | 4. <i>The Anunnaki go up, their lord(s),</i> |
| 5. <i>nu-éš-bi dim é-an-na-meš</i> | 5. <i>The dim of Eanna, their priest(s) of sacrifice.</i> |
| 6. <i>kisal-e lugal bur-ra-an⁽⁴⁾ mu-e-gub</i> | 6. <i>The aisle, oh king, with festivity thou treadest.</i> |

(1) Var. omits.

(2) Read *é-nun = kummu*. Traces of *é* on the prism.

(3) *é-a = è-a = ášú*.

(4) Var. *a-an*

partially restored from two duplicates we are still unable to fully understand its general import. It is clear that the liturgists intended to compose a chant in eight sections to Nintud the creatress to be sung in her temple at Keš. Since each section ends with the mournful refrain, "Who shall utter lamentation," and the seventh section speaks of calamities which befell the

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| <p>7. <i>en-dug-šaḡ tug(?) -lal nam-mi-in lal</i>⁽¹⁾</p> <p>8. <i>a-dúḡ?-e umun</i>⁽²⁾ <i>dEn-ki ne-gab in-?</i></p> <p>9. <i>tu-e</i>⁽²⁾ <i>a-kin</i>⁽³⁾ <i>-a-an mu-e-gub</i></p> <p>10. <i>lâl-e . . . a-šu-bi ki-aḡag-ga-a-an dū(?) -</i> <i>dū(?) e(?)</i>⁽⁴⁾</p> <p>11. <i>en-dū-siḡ</i>⁽⁵⁾ <i>abkal ubar-e-ne</i>⁽⁶⁾ <i>ka</i>⁽⁷⁾ <i>ki-</i>⁽⁸⁾ <i>a-an ma-gál-li-eš</i></p> <p>11. ^{bis} . . . <i>šeš-a-ni su-mu-un-siḡ-gi-ne</i>⁽⁹⁾</p> <p>12. . . . <i>RU URU-RU mu-ni-ib-bi</i>⁽¹⁰⁾ <i>-ne</i></p> <p>13. . . . <i>ma-ge giḡ-ga</i>⁽¹¹⁾ <i>mi-ni-ib-za</i></p> <p>13. ^{bis} [<i>šu?</i>-] <i>á-lal-e ḡu-ḡu-mi-ni-ib-bi</i>⁽¹²⁾</p> <p>14. . . . <i>liḡir?</i>⁽¹³⁾ <i>-ra sūḡ-sūḡ mi-ni-ib-za</i></p> <p>14. ^{bis} [. . . <i>é</i>] <i>dug-[ḡi] si-ḡa-ba-ni-ib-sá</i></p> <p>15. [. . . <i>é</i>] <i>dug-ka-ḡal-bi al-dug</i>⁽¹⁴⁾</p> | <p>7. The beneficent lord hath clothed it with⁽¹⁵⁾</p> <p>8. The.....⁽¹⁶⁾, lord Enki <i>watches over it.</i></p> <p>9. The baptizer.....treads.</p> <p>10. The.....⁽¹⁷⁾ in the holy place <i>dwells.</i></p> <p>11. The....lord, the councillor—the protegées <i>salute him with prostration</i> to the earth.</p> <p>11. ^{bis} His....they.....</p> <p>12.<i>the city humiliated</i> they recite.</p> <p>13.with sorrow abounded.</p> <p>13. ^{bis} The <i>bound</i> cried aloud.</p> <p>14.in desolation abounded.</p> <p>14. ^{bis} ...the harem truly she directed aright.</p> <p>15.of the harem its festivity she made good.</p> |
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(1) Var. Cstpl³. 1992 Rev. II 4 [*nam-*] *mu-un-lal*.

(2) Var. RADAU 8, omits.

(3) So RADAU. The prism has the sign *UR* Br. 11887 clearly written.

(4) Var. RADAU, 8, *lâl-e ki-aḡag-ga nam-mi-in-durun(?)*.

(5) Cf. CT. 16, 37, 22, *d^aen-dū-siḡ(?) -bi*. THOMPSON read ŠA (for *siḡ?*).

(6) So clearly Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 7.

(7) Ash. Prism; Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 7. RADAU, *KA+LI* sic! (for *siḡ?*) is slightly damaged here.


(8) The prism has *ki* clearly, not *ku*.

(9) This line is preserved on Cstple. 1992 and RADAU 8, but the prism omits it.

(10) My copy Cstple. 1992 Rev. II 10 has *ga*, probably an error for *bi*.

(11) Var. RADAU, *ga-a-an*; Cstple. 1992 simply *giḡ*. Note also line 10 *a-an* where the variant omits. *a-an* is therefore an adverbial ending having the same force as the oblique ending *a*; see *Sum. Gr.* §79 and SBP. 40, 23 *bar-tul-ba-ám (a-an) = ina šuklišu*. This line would be rendered into Semitic by *ina murši uštabarri*, cf. IV R 24 No. 3, 21.

(12) Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 28 Rev. 31 ff.

(13) This sign on the prism is clearly not the one given by RADAU. My collation has  *liḡir* is, however, the most probable rendering.

(14) Cstple. 1992 omits the three preceding lines.

(15) RADAU, *su-me*. I read *tug-lal* on the prism.

(16) A title of Enki as a god of the water cult.

(17) Title of Enki

city we may suppose that, like all other Sumerian liturgies, our text was written as a lamentation concerning some local calamity. But in the composition of this liturgy the scribes have given more than ordinary attention to the legends which concerned the cult in question. At the end of each section they have added a refrain in four lines which obviously refers to the creation of man in the image of Ninib (*ašširigi*) and of woman in the image of the mother goddess Nintud.

I would now render this refrain in the following manner:

“In accordance with the incantation of the earth design¹ a form may man bear.


Their strong one like Ninib (*ašširigi*) in form may a mother beget.



Their lady like Nintud in form shall be.”

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| <p>16.<i>é-dug ka-zał-bi al-dug</i>⁽¹⁾</p> <p>17.⁽²⁾ <i>zał-bi-a mu-un-durun</i></p> <p>18.<i>ga</i>⁽³⁾ <i>sag-gà nin-tağ-bi-a mu-un-durun</i></p> <p>19. [EN-HAR-(<i>ki</i>)-]⁽⁴⁾ <i>gim rib-ba galu ši-in-ga-[an-túm-mu]</i></p> <p>20. <i>ur-sag-bí dāš-šir-gi-gim rib-ba ama ši-[in-ga-an-ù-tud]</i></p> <p>21. [<i>nin-bi</i>]^d <i>Nin-tud-gim rib-ba-ra</i>⁽⁵⁾ <i>a-ba er-[mu-ni-in-duğ]</i></p> | <p>16.of the harem its festivity she made good.</p> <p>17.in theirabode.</p> <p>18.in theirabode.</p> <p>19. In accordance with the incantation of the “earth design” a form let man bear.</p> <p>20. Their strong one like Ninib in form may a mother beget.</p> <p>21. Their lady like Nintud in form is. Who shall lament?</p> |
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(1) Cstple. 1992 omits this line. Here ends the variant in the Museum collections.

(2) The sign before *zał* appears to be *ga* on the prism.

(3) I have carefully collated these signs and read -*ga*.

(4) This ideogram  is followed by *ki-ga* (Var. *gà*) III 17; by *ki*, III 3, II 7, I 25, and in II 21 both *ki* and *ga* are omitted. We are induced to suppose on the analogy of forms like *unu-(ki)-ga-(ki)* = *Urug-ga*, Erech, ZIMMERN, KL. 200, 26; -(*ki*)-*na* = *Ninā*, ALLOTTE DE LA FUYÈ, *Documents Pré-sargoniques* 167; that *EN-HAR* represents the name of some city which ends in *g*, and according to I 25, where it follows immediately upon *Keš*, that it is a quarter of that city. Such was my impression when this difficult text was edited in the *Liturgies*, but for another view see note 1 below.

(5) *ra* emphatic demonstrative equivalent to *am*, see *Sum. Gr.* §163.

¹ *én-ğar-ki-ga*, see above, note (4); Semitic *kima šiṭti ušurat iršitim*. If this interpretation be correct we must explain *ğar* as an abbreviation for *giš-ğar*, for *ğar* in the sense of

MARDUK ASSOCIATED WITH ARURU

Thus beyond all doubt the Nippurian school of Sumerian theology originally regarded man as having been created from clay by the great mother goddess.¹ But later tradition tended to associate Enlil with Nintud or Aruru in the creation of man. We have no reference to such a tradition concerning Enlil,² but Semitic tradition repeatedly associates Marduk with Aruru in this act and even goes to the extent of regarding him as alone having created man. This evolution of the tradition concerning Marduk is, I venture to think, based upon an earlier one concerning Enki. In any case this association of a great god in the act of creation cannot be earlier than the Hammurapi period, for in our text (Rev. II 44) Enlil accuses Ninharsag of having herself created two creatures. Nevertheless, following a tendency to regard Marduk the god of Babylon as the chief actor in the ancient Sumerian tradition, a tendency which is repeated later by the Assyrians with their god Ašur, the Babylonians ascribe the creation of the ordered world, its cities, its rivers, its vegetation and the beasts of the field to Marduk. And in reciting the various orders of creation by Marduk they tell us that he also "built" mankind.³ In this act Aruru assists him; "Aruru built with him the first men."⁴ The text from which

"design" occurs rarely without the abstract prefix *giš* and is then rendered by the loan-word *ḥarru* in Semitic. *ki* or *iršitu* has here the meaning "ground," and *gar-ki* would mean "a plan designed on the ground," from which man was patterned. For the idea compare *ki-a gar-ra = ša ina kaḫḫar ešrit*, HAUPT, ASKT. 86, 72. In the passage cited above p. 22 Mami recites an incantation over the clay from which she moulds the fourteen mothers.

¹ See tablet No. 4561, Rev. II 44. Also Enki is said to have created from clay the minor deities who preside over brickmakers, carpenters, jewelers and various arts; see WEISSBACH, *Misc.* 32, 26.

² Except in the titles, *tud*, Rev. II 4; *banū abi* ^{4u}*En-lil*, SBP. 84, 15; *banē ili u šarri bašū itti-ka*, PSBA. 1912, 153 l. 14.

³ *amelūti ibiani*.

⁴ *zēr amelūti*, "the seed of mankind," *i. e.*, those from whom mankind descended. *Adapa* is called the *zēr amelūti*, which obviously reveals a tradition that Adapa was the first created man, DHORME, *Choix*, 158, 12.

this description has been taken belongs to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty.¹ Like many other important literary documents it forms part of an incantation,² and in this case an incantation for the dedication of a temple.³ Sumerian and Semitic sources seem to agree in bringing the mother goddess into connection with the creation of man only. She has apparently, in all the known sources, no clear connection with the creation of the world, or its animate and inanimate nature.⁴

HER CONNECTION WITH THE STORY OF THE DECAPITATION OF MARDUK

On the whole the theology and traditions concerning Nintud or Aruru belong to the Nippurian school which taught that the earth god Enlil created the universe and assisted the mother goddess in creating man. Over against the teaching of this school we have constantly to keep in mind the teaching of the Eridu or southern group of theologians who taught that Enki or Ea not only created the universe but mankind as well. It is, therefore, not surprising that we find the great Babylonian Epic of Creation teaching that Marduk the son of Enki created man from blood and bone. A grammatical commentary on this

¹ CT. 13, 35-38. Translated by DHORME, *Choix*, 82-9; A. JEREMIAS, *Handbuch*, 24. A small variant of the ends of the first lines has been discovered by ZIMMERN, ZA. 28, 101. See also ROGERS, *Cuneiform Parallels* 48-50.

² This text originally written in Semitic is provided with a Sumerian translation so arranged that part is on the left of the Semitic text and part on the right.

³ See the reverse l. 13, *Ezida šubtum širtum naram libbi Anu u Ištar atla* and the underline, *enim-enim-ma [é-]mà-mà-dé-ge*, "Incantation for the building of a temple." Note also that a poem of Creation, *enima Anu ibnû šamê*, "When Anu created the heavens," is recited at a ceremony for rebuilding a temple, WEISSBACH, *Misc.* No. 12, line 23. For a similar text on the building of a private house see ZIMMERN, ZA. 23, 369, a text partly rendered into English by the writer in an article on *Babylonian Magic*, "Scientia," Vol. XV, pp. 239 f.

⁴ The only phrase which can be construed so as to include animals in her creative work has been cited above, p. 22 n. 7.

epic says that Marduk created the dark-headed people.¹ The description of this act occurs at the beginning of the sixth book as restored by DR. L. W. KING² and runs as follows:

“When Marduk heard the discourse of the gods,
 His heart prompts him³ as he devises a clever thing.
 As his mouth is opened⁴ he speaks unto Ea.
 That which he conceives in his heart he imparts unto
 him.
 My blood I will fix together, bone I will *fashion*.
 I will cause man to stand forth, verily man shall
 be . . .
 I will build man, the dweller of *the earth*.
 Verily let the cults of the gods be established and
 may these *occupy* their shrines.”

This well-known passage has been properly elucidated by KING, who compares the statement of Berossus:—“And Belus seeing a land deserted but fruitful commanded one of the gods to take off his⁵ head and to mix earth with the blood that flowed therefrom, and to fashion men and animals capable of bearing the air.”⁶ An earlier source detected by ZIMMERN in a tablet of the first Babylonian dynasty⁷ shows that this idea of creating

¹ PSBA. 1910, 161, K. 12830, 1; cf. also page 167.

² KING, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* p. 86.

³ *ubbal*, an historical present followed by the *hal* present, see MEISSNER, *Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik*, §51 g, and for the historical present, *ibakki šelību*, CT. 15, 32 Rev. 9.

⁴ For the subjunctive permansive construction *eššu ři-šu*, *ešša ři-kunu*, etc. (see examples in MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon* 788 b); see also ZA. IV 233, K. 3199, 11.


⁵ The head of Belus.

⁶ ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Βῆλον χώραν ἔρημον καὶ καρποφόρον κελεύει ἐνὶ τῶν θεῶν τῆν κεφαλὴν ἀφελόντι ἑαυτοῦ τῷ ἀπορρύνεντι αἵματι φυρᾶσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ διαπλάσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ θηρία τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν ἀέρα φέρειν, CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, second edition, p. 26.

⁷ CT. VI 6 Obverse. See ZA. 14, 281; also A. JEREMIAS, *Handbuch* 181 n. g. This difficult text was first copied by the skillful hand of DR. T. G. PINCHES and a new copy by the writer will be found on Plate III of this volume. The original is much weatherworn. Although I have succeeded in reading some more signs yet I owe more to Dr. Pinches' copy than is apparent. The original text contained six columns of about forty lines each and probably belongs to some unknown epic

man from earth mingled with the blood of a god belongs originally to the Eridu school. This tradition taught that Mami at the instigation of Enki and other gods fashioned man from clay and the blood of a slain god. At least such conclusions force themselves upon us from the few words which we can decipher upon this tablet.

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| <p>4. <i>kāt</i>¹ <i>ši-kin balāti a-we-lum li-iš-ši</i></p> <p>5. <i>il-ta-am iḫ-ḡu-u in-</i>²</p> <p>6. <i>u-su-ut</i>³ <i>ilāni e-ri-iš-tu</i> ^{il^{a1}} <i>Ma-mi</i></p> <p>7. <i>at-ti-i-ma ša-as-su-ru</i></p> <p>8. <i>ba-ni-a-at a-we-lu-tim</i></p> <p>9. <i>bi-ni-ma, lu-ul-la-a li-bi-el</i>⁴ <i>aḫ-ša-nam</i></p> <p>10. <i>aḫ-ša-nam li-bi-el ŠI</i></p> <p>11. <i>kāt ši-kin balāti a-we-lum li-iš-ši</i></p> <p>12. <i>ardatu(?) rabātu bi-a-ša te-ḫu-ša-am-ma</i></p> <p>13. <i>iḫ-ḡa-kar a-na ilāni rabu-ti</i></p> <p>14. <i>it-ti-ḡa-ma la-na tu-? -e-?</i>⁵</p> <p>15. <i>it-ti dunani-šu i-ba-aš-ši u</i></p> | <p>4. A form of a creature of life may man bear.</p> <p>5. A goddess they called, they</p> <p>6. "Ob help of the gods, wise Mami,</p> <p>7. Thou art a mother-womb,</p> <p>8. Creatress of mankind.</p> <p>9. Build a virile figure, let him bear the yoke.</p> <p>10. The yoke let him bear.</p> <p>11. A form of a creature of life let man bear."</p> <p>12. The mighty maid⁶ opened her mouth,</p> <p>13. Speaking unto the great gods.</p> <p>14. "With me a form shall you.</p> <p>15. With his shape. . . . shall there be.</p> |
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¹ Uncertain. The sign after *ŠU* I have taken for  and the whole for *kāt*, Br. 7095. *kāt*, construct of *kantu* > *kattu* "form," is possible, for which we have the analogy of *bintu* > *bītu*, cstr. *bit* "house." My rendering has been influenced by the Sumerian hymn to Nintud cited above where we have the refrain, "In accordance with the incantation of the earth-design a form let man bear." The construction here with two constructs so common in Hebrew can be paralleled in Assyrian; e. g., *išdi kussē šarrūtišu*, Tiglathpileser, *Prism VIII* 78.

² Certainly not *iḫ-du-u*.

³ Cf. Rev. 20.

⁴ For *li-bil*? Cf. *Li-bi-il-ḫegalla*, name of a canal at Babylon, VAB. IV Index, and *u-bil aḫšanaki*, KING, *Magic*, 8, 7.

⁵ *tu-li-e-šu-uš*, might answer to the traces on the tablet.

⁶ Uncertain. For the original form of *GIN*, Brunnow, 11131 see ALLOTTE DE LA FUÏE, DP. 49 Rev. 6; BM. 38744. For *gin* in the sense of *ardatu* and a title of the mother goddess of love, a character attached to Innini, see *Tammuz and Ishtar* 75. The sign has also the value *ki-el*, *kel*=*ardatu*; see MIO. 4159 Obv. 3 (Genouillac, *Inventaire*), where the sign is followed by *la*. See also OPPERT, ZA. 1, 440.

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| 16. <i>š-u-u-ma ?-la-? ka-la-ma</i> | 16. He shall ¹ all things. |
| 17. <i>ti-it-ṭa-am li- ma da-ma lu(?) -nu-uš</i> | 17. Of clay shall he, of blood shall he" |
| 18. <i>^dEn-ki pi-a-šu i-ṭu-ša-am-ma</i> | 18. Enki opened his mouth, |
| 19. <i>iṭ-ṭa-kar ana ilāni ra-bu-ti</i> | 19. Speaking unto the great gods. |
| 20. <i>i-na ar-ḫi ri-bu-ti u -la-ti</i> | 20. "In the wide highways and the |
| 21. <i>te-li-il-tu ma-ti di-in-ri-?-?</i> | 21. <i>Cleansing of the land</i> |
| 22. <i>ilam iš-te-en li-it-bu-ḫu-ma</i> | 22. One god let them slay. |
| 23. <i>li-te-el-li? ilāni i-na di-?-bi</i> | 23. Let the gods |
| 24. <i>i-na ši-ri-šu ù da-mi-šu</i> | 24. With his flesh and his blood, |
| 25. <i>^{ia}Nin- ḫar-sag li-ba-li-il ti-it- tam</i> | 25. May Ninharsag mix clay." |

THE ERIDU TRADITION

In the tradition concerning the creation of man by Marduk we have apparently to do with a Babylonian transformation of the Eridu view which taught that Enki or Ea the water god created man from clay, which the Nippurian schools taught concerning Aruru.² In the so-called bilingual Babylonian version which associates Mami with Marduk in this act we have a composite tradition made by the Babylonians from two Sumerian sources. And in the Babylonian source just discussed the Eridu view of the origin of man from a mixture of clay with the blood of a god has been associated with the Nippurian teaching concerning Mami. An Assyrian fragment, however, shows that the Semites retained the pure Eridu tradition in some quarters.³ According to this source "the gods" created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and creeping things, after which Enki⁴ created

¹ According to the Biblical narrative we expect here some word for "rule, direct"

² I use this title by preference only. The reader will understand that the other titles, Mami, Nintud, Ninharsag all indicate the same mother goddess.

³ DT. 41 in CT. 13, 34. See DHORME, *Choix*, 96.

⁴ *Nin-igi-aṣag* is the title used in this poem.

“two little ones.”¹ A tablet from Babylon of the late period² but doubtlessly resting upon a much earlier text says that Enki³ pinched clay from the sea and built the various minor deities, patrons of the arts, of agriculture, etc., after which “he created the king to care for the temples and men to *care for the cults*.” We have, therefore, evidence for a tradition which taught that Enki had created mankind from clay.

RELATION OF THE TWO SUMERIAN POEMS TO THESE TRADITIONS

The poem of Creation and the Flood appears to have completely confounded these traditions for here both Enki and Ninharsag⁴ create mankind, but Enki alone brings the “cattle and fourfooted beasts of the field” into being, and causes cities to be built. Obviously the later bilingual account discussed above depends upon this poem.⁵ This Sumerian poem also agrees with the Babylonian bilingual account on one other vital point in that it speaks of the origin of mankind as “the seed of mankind,” or the first men.⁶ The fragments of this poem permit us to infer that the god Enki of Eridu is here regarded as ruling over mankind in prediluvian times. The Poem of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man agrees entirely upon this latter point. Both poems incorporate fully the Eridu tradition of

¹ 2 *su-ba-[ri ib-ni]*.

² WEISSBACH, *Miscel.* No. 12.

³ The text employs the title *Nu-dim-mud*.

⁴ Col. I 13 where also Anu the heaven god and Enlil the earth god are added.

⁵ Here Marduk replaces Enki.

⁶ *numun-nam-lù-kał* (= *zēr amelūti*) Col. IV 7, cf. I 2. This is the transcription given by POEBEL. The bilingual text has *numun-nam-lù-gäl-lu*, CT. 13, 36, 21; cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, SAK. 154 III 24. In a strict sense the term “seed of mankind,” should refer to the first man, as the term is applied to Adapa alone. The Greeks render this idea by τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, see CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 298, note.

paradise the organization of an Utopian society by the creator Enki and the destruction of mankind by this same water god. Both agree also in describing the mother goddess Nintud¹ as weeping for mankind whom she had created and planning to save them.² Our poem, however, retains the Nippurian point of view regarding the creation of men, for here Nintud is consistently described as having created them. It will be seen, however, that already in the Sumerian period of great creative literature and theological speculation, a strong tendency had arisen to accept the Eridu tradition and that the creation of man from clay at the hands of a mother goddess began to lose prominence in the teachings of the Nippurian school who moulded the views of succeeding Semitic theology. The Eridu point of view is the one accepted in Hebrew tradition, borrowed no doubt from the Babylonians of the first dynasty, and imbedded in one of the oldest Hebrew sources, "And God fashioned man of the dust from the ground."³ The problem of giving animal vitality to this creation of clay does not appear in the earlier Sumerian sources. In fact the Babylonian sources speak of animal vitality, *napišti*,⁴ generally in connection with animals only.⁵ In any case they have not suggested an origin for the inception of vitality and intelligence into the creature whom Aruru or Enki

¹ The Poem of Creation and the Flood also uses the title *aṣag^ainnana-ge*, "Holy Innina," III 16.

² Nintud is probably the deity who urges *Ziudsuddu* to escape in a boat in the Poem of The Creation and the Deluge. Note that in Col. IV she wails for the people and that in Col. IV some deity appears to be revealing to the king the decision of the gods to destroy mankind. This deity uses the word *na-ri-ga-mu*, a word occurring in an address of Nintud to Tagtug in our text, Rev. I 41, *na-rig-mu*, "My purging." The pronoun "my" undoubtedly refers to Nintud in both poems.

³ Genesis 2, 7.

⁴ DHORME, *Choix*, 86, 22, *bul ṣēri ṣi-kin napišti ina ṣēri ibtani*, "The cattle of the field, the creatures of the breath of life, he fashioned in the field."

⁵ Cf. also Genesis 1, 20, 24.

had moulded,¹ other than the late tradition that the blood and flesh of a god gave vitality and a soul to the creature of clay. The Biblical statement, "And he blew into his nostrils the breath of life² and the man became a living being," has, so far as our material goes, no equivalent in any Sumerian or Babylonian source.

THE GREEK TRADITION CONCERNING PROMETHEUS

Among the Greeks the same tradition of the creation of man from clay became current in the late period, when it obviously filtered into Oriental Greek writers from Berossus and other Babylonian sources. The Greeks attached this story to their god Prometheus, who in a general way corresponds to Enki in Sumero-Babylonian religion. Both are the principal patrons of industrial arts in their respective pantheons, particularly of the arts of pottery and metallurgy. The classical description of the character of and legends concerning Prometheus have been preserved in the *Theogony* of Hesiod 510–607 and the *Protagoras* of Plato 320 D, but the moulding of man from clay does not yet appear in these authors. Apollodorus, who wrote at Athens in the early part of the second century B.C., and who knew the works of Berossus well, appears to be the first Greek writer to mention Prometheus in this connection. "Prometheus

¹ Both Enki and Aruru are designated by a title which refers to working at clay with a potter's disk. ^a*nin-duk-ka-bur* (glossed *pa-ka-rum?*), CT. 24, 12, 23=25, 86, is given as a title of *Bêlit-ilâni* in connection with the name Aruru. On the other hand, *nun-ûr-ra*=^a*duk-ka-bur*=^{uu}*Ea ša paḥari*, CT. 25, 48, 7. ^a*nun-ûr-ra*=^{uu}*E-a*, VR. 51 B 71. Hence *duk-ka-bur* has the Sumerian locution *nunurra* and the Semitic value *paḥaru*, potter. Hence Aruru is *bêlit paḥari*, "Mistress of the potter," patroness of the potter's art and Ea or Enki is the patron god of the potter. These titles probably refer to the legends cited above. The Egyptians also have the same tradition, for a wall painting in the temple of Luxor represents the god Chnum in the act of moulding a man and a woman on a potter's wheel.

² *nišmath ḫaiitm* has no etymological or exact logical equivalent in Babylonian.

having moulded man from water and earth gave them also fire, having concealed it in a hollow stalk unbeknown to Zeus."¹ Lucian, who wrote in the second century of our era and who was himself an oriental, states in his *Prometheus* that Athena aided Prometheus in the creation of men. Athena in the Greek religion corresponds here to Aruru of the Babylonians who assisted Marduk in moulding men from clay. Lucian's statement which he puts into the mouth of Prometheus himself is, "And now according to poetic diction 'earth with water having mixed' and having made it pliable I fashioned men, having also then summoned Athena to aid me in the work."² This story is referred to by Horace in the well-known lines: "It is said that Prometheus, having been ordered to add to the primeval clay a bit severed from everywhere,³ placed in our hearts the passion of a mad lion."⁴ The same story is told by Hyginus a Latin author of the first century B. C.; "Prometheus son of Japetus was the first to fashion men from clay; and afterwards Vulcan by the command of Jove made the figure of a woman from clay unto which Minerva gave a soul."⁵

¹ Apollodorus, I, 7, 1; Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ, λάθρα Διός, ἐν νάρθηκι κρύψας.

² Lucian, *Prometheus*, 13; καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν ποιητικὸν λόγον <γαίαν ὕδει φύρας> καὶ διαμαλάξας ἀπέπλασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρακαλέσας συνεπιλαβέσθαι μοι τοῦ ἔργου. ORELLI, *Commentary on Horace*, Bk. I 16 p. 108 quotes this passage of Lucian so that it says that Athena breathed upon the clay and thus gave it a soul. *συνειργάξετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐμπνέουσα τὸν πηλόν*. It would be interesting to know how Orelli obtained this distortion of Lucian for it is the only mention of breathing upon the clay to give it a soul.

³ I. e., some characteristic from each animal.

⁴ Horace, *Carmina* I 16:

Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.

⁵ Hyginus, *Fabulae* 142: Prometheus Iapeti filius primus homines ex luto finxit; postea Vulcanus Jovis jussu ex luto mulieris effigiem fecit cui Minerva animam dedit.

Classical scholars seem to be agreed in assuming that the legend of the fashioning of man by Prometheus came into Greek mythology in the Alexandrian period;¹ several drawings of this mythological event are known from the late period, in which Prometheus fashions several youths from clay. In one of these scenes Athena or Minerva presents to these clay figures a dove, by which the artist intended to indicate that Athena gave to men their souls.² Orelli, however, remarks upon the sixteenth ode of Horace: "The legend concerning the creation of men from clay by Prometheus was unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and was first mentioned by Erinna." Now Erinna, a Greek poetess and contemporary of Sappho, seems to refer to this story in the following lines:

"Out of tender hands (came) the pictures, oh most agreeable Prometheus!
And men are like unto thee in wisdom."³

It would appear, therefore, that the story began to invade Greek mythology as early as the seventh century. We have then no conclusive evidence for assuming that it was borrowed from Babylon, but the rapid propagation of the myth after the works of oriental writers like Berossus and Lucian became widely known tends to confirm the writer in this belief. The

¹ So TOUTAIN in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, p. 682. DR. L. R. FARNELL has expressed the same opinion to me and says that the whole Prometheus story probably came from Babylon.

² DR. FARNELL, however, says that these youths are already alive as they leave the hand of Prometheus, and he thinks that Athena here gives the children a bird to play with. He says that only occasionally on Greek monuments does a bird (not the dove) represent the soul. In other scenes of the creation in the late Greek period the butterfly invariably typifies the soul and in these scenes Athena holds the butterfly over the head of the newly created. DR. FARNELL adds that in the scene referred to above, which is taken from a sarcophagus in the Louvre of the Graeco-Roman period, the dove no longer represents the soul and that the older and deeper idea has become a playful motive.

³ *Anthologiae Palatinae*, I p. 221, Epigram 352: Ἐξ ἀπαλῶν χειρῶν τάδε γράμματα. λῶστέ Προμηθεύ. ἐντι καὶ ἄνθρωποι τιν ὄμαλοι σοφίαν.

Greek traveler Democritus says that he was at Babylon, and Clement of Alexandria states that Democritus translated the story of Aḫīkar into Greek.¹ This proves that Babylonian influence was already exerting itself in Greece in the fifth century.

More authentic in classical Greek tradition is the myth of the fashioning of Pandora, the first woman, and the cause of all human sorrows. So well known was her creation by the potters that Sophocles devoted a tragedy to the subject called "Pandora or the Forgers." Only a few fragments remain, one of which has become well known and taken to refer to the myth of Prometheus and the creation of men:

"And to knead the first primeval clay with the hands."²

If this passage refers to the creation of men and not of Pandora, then the poet surely referred to the fashioning of the latter in some lost passage. He apparently knew of her creation at the hands of several divine potters, for he says in verses ascribed to this tragedy by Hermann:

"Go ye on the way now, all ye skillful people,
Who the grim-eyed Ergane³ of Zeus with standing
Winnowing fans beseech, ye who beside the anvils
Fashioned with hands soulless matter,
Obedient to the heavy hammer and the blows."⁴

¹ Diels, H., *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2d ed., Vol. I 439, No. 299; λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἑρμενευθεῖσιν τοῖς ἰδίους συντάξει συγγραμμοῖσι.

² Frag. Soph. 701 in *Bibliotheca Graecorum Scriptorum*, p. 368, preserved in the Scholae of Hippocrates: καὶ πρῶτον ἀρχὸν πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χεροῖν. The text is not quite certain regarding ἀρχόν but the passage is clearly connected with Horace, *Carmina* I 16 so that Sophocles may possibly refer to Prometheus here.

³ Title of Athena as the "worker."

⁴ See Frag. Soph. *ibid.* Frag. 705:

Bāt' eis ὁδὸν δῆ, πᾶς ὁ χειρῶνάξ λεὼς
οἱ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε, τὴν παρ' ἄκμοι
τυπάδι βαρεῖα καὶ κόποις ὑπήκοον
ἄψιχον ἔλην δημιουργοῦντες χεροῖν.

Thus Sophocles already exhibits traces of an early belief in the assistance of Athena who was said to have given life to the creature of clay. "Pandora, whom the gods moulded as the first woman," says Apollodorus,¹ and Hesiod says that Vulcan made Pandora from clay.² Others tell of the origin of men from the semen of Ouranos the heaven god,³ a doctrine taught also in Orphic literature:

"(I have sung) the birth of powerful Brimō, and also
the unhallowed deeds
Of the earth-born giants, who spilt from Heaven the
dread
Seminal fluid, the primeval, whence was generated
The race of mortals who dwell upon the boundless
earth forever."⁴

This PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY tells me is good Orphic doctrine and he cites another line from their teachings:

"Child of earth am I and of the starry Heaven."⁵

A scholia cited in *Anthologiae Palatinae* p. 270 says that Prometheus made men from clay and put into them a voice and a soul. A similar teaching from the Orphic collection is: "And man, says Orpheus, was moulded by God himself from earth and received from him a reasonable soul, even as the all-wise Moses has revealed these things."⁶

¹ Apollodorus, 1, 7, 2: Πανδώρας, ἣν ἔπλασαν θεοὶ πρώτην γυναῖκα.

² Hesiod, *Theogony* 571.

³ *Ibid.* 185.

⁴ Orpheus, *Argonautica*, 17-20:

Βριμοῦς τ' εὐδυνάτοιο γονὰς, ἧδ' ἔργα αἰδηλα
Γηγενέων, οἱ λυγρὸν ἐπ' Οὐρανοῦ ἐστάξαντο
Σπέρμα γονῆς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅθεν γένος ἐξεγένοντο
Θνητῶν, οἱ κατὰ γαῖαν ἀπείριτον αἰὲν ἔασι.

⁵ Γῆς πάις εἰμὶ καὶ Ὀυρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

⁶ Orpheus, preserved by Malala a Byzantine writer; see CORY, *Ancient Fragments* 298.

Thus we see that the Greeks first explained the inception of life and soul to the assistance of the mother goddess. This assistance permeates the whole Babylonian tradition, but there she confines her work to assisting in moulding the clay. We seem to be here in the presence of a tradition in Greece which although strangely like the Babylonian is nevertheless either wholly independent or a borrowing modified by Greek thought. The origin of the soul and life was explained in Babylonia by the fact that the creatress mingled the blood of a god with the clay. This view seems to survive in Greece only in the story of Dionysus Zagreus; for they said of him that man's soul came from his blood and that the body had been made from the ashes of the blighted Titans.

THE EGYPTIAN VIEW

The Egyptians have nearly the same story regarding the creation of man. Here the river god Khnum, who is frequently called the potter,¹ is represented in the same rôle of Enki the water god of Eridu. And like Enki in Babylonian symbolical mythology he has the head of a ram in Egyptian representations of him.² Unfortunately we possess no details of this legend in Egypt; our argument is based solely upon the inferences which we draw from the sculptures of Deir el Bahari and Luxor. The former represents Khnum in the act of moulding the embryonic figure³ of the future queen Hatshepsut from clay on a

¹ *kelen* in Egyptian.

² Enki is generally represented by a creature having a ram's head, neck and fore shoulders with fore feet in a crouching position; the body is that of a fish.

³ The god moulds two figures, one of which the Egyptologists explain as the *Ka* or divine double of the queen. In Egyptian religion each person had a *Ka* or spiritual protector which corresponds to the "god of a man" (*ilu ša ameli*), of the Sumero-Babylonian religion. The queen represents herself as a man in these sculptures and the two clay figures are also those of a male.

potter's wheel. The frog-headed goddess Heḳet extends the *ank*, sign of life, to the nostrils of the clay figure, in order to give it life.¹ The sculptures of Luxor represent in the same manner the ram-headed Khnum moulding the figure of the future king Amonhotep III. Here, however, it is Hathor² who extends the symbol of life to the moulded clay.³ These scenes, which are contemporary with the Cassite period in Babylonia, are much later than the Sumero-Babylonian legends. Whether these ideas are based upon an earlier Egyptian tradition or not I am unable to say. The similarity of ideas and details is striking and a borrowing from Sumer seems to me probable. The theme of a life-giving mother evidently runs through the whole fabric of ancient mythology and has been embedded in Hebrew tradition in the story of Eve.

THE BIBLICAL FORM OF THE ASSISTANCE OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

In Genesis 3, 20 we have a tradition that the name of the first woman was *Hawwā*, a name which probably represents a survival of an ancient west Semitic mother goddess.⁴ Like all other peoples the western Semites must have worshipped the earth mother goddess and considered her as the creatress of men. *Hawwā* has probably survived as the first woman in Hebrew

¹ See EDUARD NAVILLE, *Deir el Babari*, part II, plate XLVIII and pages 14 ff.

² Heḳet is only a local form of Hathor.

³ See COLIN CAMPBELL, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amon Hoteḫ III*, 27 f. and plate opp. page 28.

⁴ Following their custom of explaining unintelligible foreign words by a native homophone, the Hebrews explained *Hawwā* by connecting it with the verb חָיָה, to live, "be full of life." Hence they probably understood the name to mean, "Life, source of life." Semitic scholars have long since rejected this explanation.

tradition after this people had become thoroughly imbued with Babylonian ideas. She yields her place as the creatress in the native tradition to the Babylonian teachings of Eridu which represents a god as creator assisted by Nintud-Aruru-Mami the great goddess of childbirth. Under the influence of this myth which they seem to have borrowed in its entirety the Hebrews transformed *Hawwā* into the mother goddess who assists in the creation of man. As wife of the first man she gives natural birth to the first human child, but the phraseology used by the Hebrew in describing the birth of Cain is taken directly from the bilingual poem of the creation of man by Marduk and Aruru. For, as we have seen, in that version "Aruru fashioned the seed of mankind with him."¹ And the Hebrew says of the birth of Cain, "And she conceived and bore Cain and she said, 'I have created a man with Jahweh.'"² The word used for "with" in each language is philologically the same and the form of expression shows clearly enough the survival of the Babylonian myth.

Hawwā like the Sumerian earth goddess was connected with serpent worship in prehistoric times. Scholars have long since connected her name with the Aramaic word for serpent *hawwē*. That *Hawwā* really was an ancient ophidian goddess is proven by the fact that the name *Hawwat* has been found in Phoenician with the title of a goddess. This important inscription, which preserves the only reference to this lost deity, was found in a necropolis at Carthage and belongs to a late period. A devotee addresses a curse against his enemies to her as, "Queen *Hawwat*,³ goddess and queen."⁴ Since the imprecator

¹ *it-ti-su* = "with him," "in company with him."

² *eth Jah^{awēh}*.

³ This is of course the proper pronunciation of the letters *HVT*.

⁴ So LIDSBARSKI: G. A. COOKE, *North Semitic Inscriptions* 135 follows CLERMONT-GANNEAU who renders, "O ladies *Hawwath* Elath and Milkath."

placed the sheet of lead on which he wrote the curse in a sepulchre, we have generally inferred *Hawwat* to have been an underworld deity. This argument and these facts are all accepted views of Biblical criticism, but the arguments from Babylonian sources have not been used by Old Testament scholars. The author has collected material in the chapter on the ophidian and oracular deities in *Tammuz and Ishtar*¹ to indicate how important was the serpent character of the Babylonian mother goddess. In fact the first sign used to write her name probably represents a serpent coiling about a staff.² Curiously the type of mother goddess who became the special patron of childbirth retains special connection with this ophidian character. A mythological text says that Nintud, "From her girdle to the soles of her feet appears with scales like a serpent."³ The Babylonians identified Nintud with *Serpens* or *Hydra* in their mythology. Although none of her titles which we shall presently discuss reveals any ophidian connection, nevertheless, the major mother type Innini or Ishtar, especially the local type KA-DI at Dir retains distinct titles of an ophidian character and the facts adduced above complete the argument. Thus Aruru-Nintud-Mami, the Babylonian mother goddess who assisted Marduk in the creation of man, was clearly connected with serpent worship; this fact probably hastened her identification with the western *Hawwā*.

¹ Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

² *Ibid.*, 122 n. 4 and PSBA. 1914, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.*, 123 n. 3.

THE ERIDU VERSION OF THE FALL OF MAN.

Since the fashioning of the first human pair by the god of Eridu is evidently the source of that general Babylonian tradition which passed to the Hebrews and the Greeks,¹ we should expect to find an Eridu version of the Fall of Man which agrees more or less with that of the Hebrew. The view taken of this great problem in the text of tablet No. 4561 is evidently the one taught by the theologians of Nippur. As we have seen, they do not raise the problem of the origin of sin as does the Hebrew version, but they attempted to explain the origin of disease, mortality, the hostility of nature to mankind, and his subjection to endless toil. This side of the problem found its way also into the Hebrew. But there it is the first man Adam whose disobedience brought about this infinite woe. On the other hand, the Nippurian theology, as represented in our tablet, attaches this disobedience to the survivor of the Flood. Had the Sumerians any body of speculation which regarded the first man as having been culpable? We have as yet no Sumerian source to confirm this suggestion, but several Semitic fragments of a long poem known as the "Legend of Adapa" obviously support an Eridu teaching on this subject.²




¹ We may of course suppose that the Hebrew version is based upon an ancient Canaanitish indigenous tradition; Sanchonjathon, to whom we must look for such traditions among the western Semites, has, however, no similar statement and other Hebrew mythology is closely connected with Sumero-Babylonian. In case of the Greek myths concerning Prometheus we are not in a position to affirm or deny borrowing from Babylonia, but that appears to be at least probable. The Egyptian version is possibly independent of the Sumerian.

² ZIMMERN appears to have been the first to see the relation between Gen. 2, 4^b-3²⁴ and the Adapa Myth. This epic is far from complete in the present state of our Assyrian studies. The first tablet or book is undoubtedly represented by Rm. 982+80-7-18, 178 in CT. 13, 31 from the Ašurbanipal Library. After a break of unknown length we have twenty-two lines from an Assyrian cylinder published by SCHEIL in MASPERO's *Recueil de Travaux*, 20, 127 ff. The most important part of the text has been found in the Amarna Collection of the Cassite period, obverse 36, reverse 35 lines, text in H. WICKLER's *Thontafeln von El-Amarna* No. 240, and collated by KNUDTZON, BA. IV 128-130, and VAB. II 964-969. Not much can be missing between SCHEIL's

This poem begins by describing how the god Ea (*i. e.*, Enki) created Adapa in the sea; whereupon he became mighty,¹ his build became well developed,² his growth was extensive.³ He became skilled in navigating the seas by aid of the winds.⁴ Ea had equipped him carefully,⁵ and he was exalted much in fame.⁶ The fragment refers to his great wisdom, his four eyes and his lips. The SCHEIL fragment goes on here with the description of his wisdom. Like Adam of the Biblical account he possessed that infinite knowledge which enabled him to give names to all things with the breath of life.⁷

“I caused him to be equipped with a vast intelligence to reveal the forms of the land.”⁸

uṣurat māti, the forms of the lands, means in Babylonian theology the divine concepts of things, which exist in the world,

fragment and this text. A fragment K. 8743 published on plate IV is said to be a duplicate of lines 12–20 of the obverse of the Amarna tablet. This is true only in a general sense, for this fragment differs considerably; we must infer that the Assyrian redaction (to which K. 8743 belongs) differed much from the Babylonian to which the Amarna text belongs. A fifth fragment of twenty-two lines from the Assyrian version belongs somewhere near the end of the epic: K. 8214, published by STRONG, PSBA. 1894, 274, and collated by the writer. K. 8743 and 8214 are in the same handwriting, have the same clay texture and belong to the same copy. Rm. 982 is of other color and texture and the writing is from another hand. K. 8214 is from the obverse of a large single column tablet. Line 6 after *su* I read . Line 9 . Line 10 *—ki*. Line 11, *NU* is wholly uncertain. Line 20, I see . The sign in line 6 is probably *el* but I do not know the construction *el ki-ma* for “more than.” I would, however, render [*ki*] *biit-su el(?) ki-ma ki-bit* ^{11u} *A-nu man-nu u-at-tar*, “Who has made his command to exceed the command of Anu?” At the beginning of line 20 I would restore [*mar-ṣ*] *u*.

¹ *i-ti-il-ma*, Rm. 982 Rev. 4; prt. of *etēlu*

² *ṣam-ḫat nab-ni-su*, Rev. 6.

³ [*ṣu*]-*ḫu-lat ṣi-ta-ṣu*.

⁴ *i-riṣ mēḫi*, “skilled with storms.”

⁵ *uṣ-ta-aṣ-bi-ṣum-ma*, III² of *ṣabū*, to fix firmly, to prove, examine. See for this root VAB. IV 359; *aṣṣum eḫlam ṣu-bi-im* (II Inf.), “In order to inspect the field,” CT 29, 5, 6. *biit* ^{11u} *Enlil bēli-ia uṣ-te-iṣ-bi-ma*, MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 2 III 5, cf. II 11, *ṣu-te-iṣ-bi-u* “(which) had been made well.” *ana ṣu-te-iṣ-bi-i*, KING, Bd. St. 27, 28.

⁶ *ṣu-uṣ-ḫu ma-’-diṣ*.

⁷ Genesis 2, 19 f.

⁸ *uṣ-na raḫaṣ-tum u-ṣak-lil-ṣu u-ṣu-rat māti kul-lu-mu*, Frag. Scheil 3.

as well as their outward material forms. The idea which God has of a thing constitutes its reality, fixes its fate; its outward form is the result of this divine idea. To design the *uṣurtu* of a thing is to fix its fate (*šimtu*) and to give it a name (*šûmu*). The Hebrew says that whatsoever Adam called each living thing of the field and each bird of the sky that was its name.¹ Philologically the Babylonian word for "name," *šumu* and the Hebrew cognate *šēm*, have no connection with the word for "fate," *šimtu*, but the Babylonians regarded the name of a thing as its reality. The names of things define the divine concept of them, and to name a thing practically means in their theology to determine its essence. The Hebrew statement really coincides with the Babylonian statement concerning Adapa.

Ea, says our poem further, gave unto Adapa wisdom but not eternal life.² Ea created him like a *sage* among men.³ The Anunnaki, sons of the water god and divine spirits of the waters of the lower world, gave him his name.⁴ The Biblical account also represents Adam as a seer of great wisdom who defined the names of living things. The kind of wisdom which he did not have seems to have consisted in the knowledge of right and wrong, the consciousness of the distinction between purity and impurity, modesty and obscenity. But this limi-

¹ 𒍪𒍪: Babylonian *šûmu*, Arabic *simu*, *ismu*. This word has apparently no connection with the verb 𒍪𒍪, *šâmu*, Arab. *šâma*, to fix, determine, whence *šimtu* fate.

² Frag. Scheil, 4.

³ ^u*Ea ki-ma rid-di ina a-me-lu-ti ib-ni-šu*. Assyriologists have argued from this passage that Adapa was not the first man since he is spoken of as living among men. It would not be wise to test a mythological and poetic statement by the strictures of logic. In any event Adapa belongs to the first race of men (see DHORME, 158, 12 last fragment of the Adapa legend, where Adapa is the *zîr amelûti*, "seed of men," "ancestor of the human race) and he was created by the creator god Ea.

⁴ So DHORME, 149 n. 8, which see for other views which make Adapa one of the Anunnaki. But no passage mentions A. as a god.

tation should not obscure the important fact that the wisdom of Adapa is also in a large measure attributed also to Adam. And the Hebrew like the Eridu version regards this hero as mortal.¹

The Babylonian poem describes Adapa as one clean of hands, a priest who anoints, who studies the divine instructions. He joined with the bakers in preparing food for Eridu. He prepared the sacred table for the cult of Enki and removed it. He sailed on the Persian Gulf to catch fish, the trade of Eridu.² The Scheil Fragment breaks off with the description of how Adapa sailed out to sea with a fair wind, guiding his ship with an oar.³ The south wind, however, blew furiously and threw him into the sea.⁴ Whereupon in rage he broke the wings of the south wind, who for seven days ceased to blow. Anu the heaven god sends his messenger to investigate, who reports that Adapa broke the wings of the south wind. Upon hearing this Anu rose from his throne and cried, "Bring him to me."⁵ And so Ea knew that which the heaven god said⁶ and he took Adapa, and caused him to have boils⁷ and clothed him in a coarse mourner's garment. Before his departure to appear before the heaven god Ea gives him the following advice:

¹ Genesis 3, 19.

² Fishing was naturally the important business of the inhabitants of this seacoast city. The passage has been generally misunderstood: *ba'irutu dakûtu ša (âl)Eridi ippuš*, "Fishing the trade of Eridu he practises." *dakûtu* is a variant of *dikûtu*, literally "a summoning, a calling." Cf. *da-ku-ut šabê-ja aškun*, MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 13 I 30.

³ *gi-muššu*, "oar or punt-pole," here used as a rudder. Hardly "rudder" in the modern sense. Read *ina (išu)gi-muš-ši-ma*, and for *giš-gi-muš*, belonging to the equipment of a ship see GENOUILLAC, TSA. 26 Rev. I. Without determinative *giš* in ALLOTTE DE LA FUYÈ 55 V, offerings to the *gi-muš* of the god Nindar.

⁴ *a-na bi-i-tu be-li-ia u-ša-am-ši-i-el-an-ni*, "(The south wind) caused me to descend unto the house of my lord;" see DHORME, *Choix*, 151 n. 3.

⁵ Anu commands that Adapa be brought. This is clearly the meaning of the passage, KNUDTZON, against DHORME, 153, 13.

⁶ For the text see VAB. II 964, 14. *an-ni-ka-a^uE-a ša šamê i-di*, "And so Ea knew that which was of heaven."

⁷ *ma-la-a*, l. 15 is certain from K. 8743, 12.

“Adapa before Anu the king thou shalt go.
 [When thou takest the way of heaven],¹ when unto heaven
 Thou ascendest, when to the gate of Anu thou drawest nigh,
 At the gate of Anu, Tammuz and Gišzida will stand.
 They will see thee, they will question thee. ‘Oh man
 For whom are thou become so? Adapa for whom?²
 a mourner’s garment dost thou wear?’ ‘In our land two
 gods have disappeared.

¹ Restore, *ḫarran šamē ina šabāti-ka*, from Rev. 1.

² K. 8743 contains the ends of 20 lines of the section which describes the wrath of Anu and the instructions of Ea. DHORME edited this fragment, *Choix* 156-9, but he was not aware that the lines originally contained much more at the left. In fact the Assyrian version has a different account of Ea’s intrigue to cause mankind to lose immortality. My restorations are conjectural.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. [.] ^u <i>A-nu a-ma-ta an-ni-ti ina še-mi-šu</i> | 1. When Anu heard this report, |
| 2. [<i>il-si na-ra-ru i-ḫab-bi ina uḡ-gat lib-bi-šu</i>] | 2. <i>he cried, Help!</i> saying in the wrath of his heart, |
| 3. [<i>li-il-gu-ni-šu</i>] <i>mar šip-ri i-šaḫ-ḫar</i> | 3. “ <i>Let them bring him to me.</i> A messenger he sends, |
| 4. [<i>ḫarrana ušašbassuma ana</i> ^u <i>E-a m</i>]- <i>udu-ú lib-bi ilāni rabūti</i> | 4. <i>Causing him to take the way unto Ea,</i> knower of the hearts of the great gods, |
| 5. [<i>ša</i>] <i>Pl. i-bar-rum</i> | 5. who investigates the |
| 6. [<i>šu-u it-ti-bi a-na bit</i> ^u <i>E-a</i>] <i>šar-ri ka-ša-di</i> | 6. <i>This one went forth to come unto the house of Ea, the king.</i> |
| 7. [.] <i>ma a-ma-ti uš-ta-bil</i> | 7. He and he was much concerned about the affair. |
| 8. [<i>A-da-ḫa ik-šu-ud-ma il-ki-]šu a-na šar-ri</i> ^u <i>E-a</i> | 8. <i>Adapa he found</i> and took him unto the king Ea. |
| 9. <i>ri il-taḫ-ḫa-a[s-su]</i> | 9. he touched him. |
| 10. [^u <i>E-a ḫa-si-su raḫ-ša</i>] <i>uḡ-ni mu-du-u lib-bi ilāni rabūti</i> | 10. <i>Ea, the wise,</i> the intelligent, knower of the heart of the great gods, |
| 11. [<i>a-na</i>] <i>šame-e u-kan-šu</i> | 11. <i>Against the</i> of heaven he confirms him. |
| 12. <i>ma-la-a ul-taš-ši-šu</i> | 12. ‘. boils he caused him to bear. |
| 13. <i>u-ba-lil-ma kar-ra ul-taḫ-ḫi-[is-su]</i> | 13. He <i>with</i> <i>bis</i> made foul and clothed him with a mourner’s garment. |
| 14. [<i>te-ma iš-kun-šu a-ma-ta</i>] <i>i-ḫab-bi-šu</i> | 14. <i>Advice he gave him,</i> addressing him an injunction. |
| 15. [<i>A-da-ḫa a-na ḫa-ni</i> ^u <i>A-ni</i>] <i>šar-ri at-ta ta-lak-ma</i> | 15. “ <i>Oh Adapa</i> thou goest before Anu the king. |
| 16. [<i>te-mi šu-ta</i>] <i>bil-ma a-ma-ti ša-bat</i> | 16. <i>My advice think on</i> and keep my injunction. |
| 17. [<i>a-na šami-e ina e-li-ka a-</i>] <i>na bābi</i> ^u <i>A-ni ina te-ḫi-ka</i> | 17. <i>When unto heaven thou ascendest,</i> when unto the gate of Anu thou approachest, |
| 18. [<i>ina bābi</i> ^u <i>A-ni</i> ^u <i>Dumu-zi</i> ^u <i>Giš-zi-da</i>] <i>iḡ-za-aḡ-ḡu</i> | 18. <i>at the gate of Anu Tammuz and Gišzida</i> will stand.” |

Therefore I am thus become.' 'Who are the two gods
 who from the land
 have disappeared?' 'They are Tammuz and Gišzida.'
 These shall look at each other,
 and cry aloud.¹ These a favorable address
 unto Anu shall speak. The beaming face of Anu
 they shall cause thee to behold. When before Anu thou
 standest,
 food of death they will hold out to thee;
 not shalt thou eat. Water of death they will hold out
 to thee;
 not shalt thou drink. Clothing they will hold out to
 thee;
 clothe thyself. Oil they will hold out to thee; anoint
 thyself.
 The advice that I gave thee not shalt thou neglect.
 The injunction
 that I said to thee mayest thou hold fast."

Provided with this ruse to obtain the intercession of the guards of heaven's gate, Adapa ascends to heaven. In the guise of a mortal attending the wailings for the dying gods he excites the compassion of these ascended deities who present him to Anu. Without affording these divine patrons the opportunity of interceding Anu demands of this mortal his reason for breaking the wings of the south wind. He explains how this wind upset his boat and threw him into the sea. Here Tammuz and Gišzida stand beside Adapa and intercede for him. It is evident from what follows that Tammuz and Gišzida explained to Anu that Ea had revealed wisdom unto this man and had initiated him into magic so that he was able to control the winds

¹ A root *šābu*, cry, is certain from CT. 29, 49, 2 *kaḫḫadu naksu išīb*, "a severed head cried out." These two gods utter a cry of woe in memory of the death which they had suffered as vegetation gods.

by his curse.¹ He had also taught him modesty and given him fame. This revelation of wisdom had thus brought him into conflict with the gods for he now possessed power to oppose them. Anger had entered into his heart also and had caused him to be violent. And so Anu pardons this mortal and utters the following remarkable words:

“Why has Ea to mankind impure the matters of heaven and earth revealed, and a coy heart² created in him and made him a name?”

The gods do not appear to envy man the wisdom of understanding the realities of things but the knowledge of good and evil, the sense of decency and consciousness of imperfections.

The Eridu version claims that man obtained this knowledge by revelation from his creator the wise Ea and that Anu discovered it in the way described above.³ The Hebrew version does not represent the possession of philosophical insight into the meaning of things as dangerous to man. Only the consciousness of indecency do the gods envy him and this he obtained by eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and

¹ At the end of his speech Adapa says that in his anger he cursed the south wind, *at-ta-za-ar*, see DHORME 155, 18. This verb is used in a magical sense, see MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, 661.

² *li-ib-ba ka-ap-ra*, “a covered heart,” one smeared over with cunning, *rusé*. So I believe this passage should be interpreted. We must look here for a parallel to the result of attaining wisdom by Adam and Eve in Gen. 3, 7. “And the eyes of both of them were opened and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed together fig leaves and made for themselves aprons.” “A covered heart” I interpret to mean a heart ashamed of indecency, a mind aware of imperfections which man attempts to conceal. DHORME renders *li-ib-ba ka-ab-ra* “a strong heart,” but this hardly does justice to the insight of the passage.

³ The story of the breaking of the wings of the wind is a clumsy invention to explain how Anu discovered that man had attained the knowledge of good and evil. Nothing that Adapa had done should have caused Anu to make such inferences. There is also nothing in his appearing as mourner for the dying gods which could give any cause for such suspicion. In fact Anu's discovery is wholly gratuitous. The Adapa legend although it discusses the same problems falls far below the Nippur version as well as the Biblical in literary imagination. In both of the others we have a real reason given for the discovery of man's illegitimate knowledge.

evil. In the main Hebrew version this results in the loss of Paradise and the entering into the world of toil and sorrow. And in the issue of his disobedience this threat is fulfilled: "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread until thou returnest to the ground, for from it thou wast taken; because thou art dust and unto dust thou shalt return."

The Eridu version makes man mortal from the beginning, or at any rate credits him only with extreme longevity. When the father of the gods at the gates of heaven discovered that a certain kind of knowledge had been given unto him he expressed concerning this revelation words from which we may perhaps infer that this wisdom would bring woe to mankind. Obviously the Eridu teaching and the teaching of the main Hebrew source are independent theological masterpieces, both attempting to explain the loss of Paradise, but both developing an explanation upon similar independent lines.

The Nippurian version in our tablet undoubtedly starts with the supposition that man in Paradise is originally a perfectly moral being but the problem as to his ejection is obscure. I shall attempt to state the argument of this version and its relation to the Eridu and Hebrew versions subsequently.

The Legend of Adapa has now a curious *dénouement*. As in the Bible so here the principle motive is to explain how mankind lost his boundless happiness. After Anu's expression of astonishment at the revelation of knowledge to man he decides to complete his likeness to the gods by bestowing upon him immortality;

"Now what shall we do for him? Bread of life
offer to him, let him eat." Bread of life
they offered to him; not did he eat. Water of life
they offered unto him; not did he drink. Clothing

they offered him and he clothed himself.¹ Oil
 they offered him and he anointed himself.
 Anu beheld him and cried in astonishment at him,
 "Come, oh Adapa, why hast thou not eaten, not drunk?
 Not shalt thou remain alive."

And so Adapa is dismissed from the courts of heaven and brought back to earth. For the further events in this version of the Fall of Man we must depend upon a fragment of the Assyrian copy which does not permit us to obtain a very clear idea of the issue. The fragment belongs to the obverse of a rather large tablet, consequently we know nothing about the last fifty or more lines of this poem. The first lines contain a somewhat different phraseology of the scene in heaven. In fact K. 8214 is a duplicate of the last lines of the Amarna or Canaanitish version but the phraseology differs so greatly that scholars have failed to detect this fact.²

1. šu-u

2. [šam-na] iḱ-bi-šum-ma šu-u iḱ-
 [pa-šiš]

3. [šu-]ba-ta iḱ-bi-šum-ma šu-u il-
 la-biš

1. and he

2. Oil he commanded for him and
 he anointed himself.

3. Clothing he commanded for him
 and he clothed himself.

¹ This passage is parallel to the statement in the Hebrew where Jahweh makes tunics of skin for Adam and Eve. These passages follow immediately upon the loss of immortality in both compositions.

² K. 8743, fragment of the Assyrian version transcribed and translated above page 42 shows how widely and materially the Assyrian version differed from the Canaanitish found at Amarna. In fact the Amarna text cannot be an Assyrian or Babylonian product for it contains words peculiar to Canaanitish; as *annika* obv., 14 and *kā* 22. This text belongs to a version written in the Canaanitish region. It differs so materially from the Assyrian that we must assume other serious divergencies which will be detected when we recover more of the text from each version. The striking similarity between the Canaanitish text and the Hebrew proves that the Western Semites developed an independent argument based upon the Babylonian material. The serious disagreement between the Amarna text and the Assyrian is extremely important for the whole problem of the relation of Hebrew sources to the Babylonian and Assyrian. Direct borrowing must be given up. In fact the Canaanites seem to have developed Babylonian traditions upon independent lines for many centuries before the Hebrews incorporated them into their documents.

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|--|---|
| <p>4.¹<i>A-nu ana ep-šit</i> ^{11u}<i>E-a</i> <i>ša-kiš i-ši-iḫ-ma</i> [igabbi]</p> <p>5. [<i>ilāni</i>]¹<i>ša šami-e u irši-tim ma-la</i> <i>ba-šu-u man-nu ki-a-am lu iḫ-</i> <i>[bi]</i></p> <p>6. [<i>ki</i>]²<i>bit-su el ki-ma ki-bit</i> ^{11u}<i>A-nu</i> <i>man-nu u-at-tar</i></p> <p>7. [. . . .<i>A</i>]-<i>da</i>³-<i>pa išlu i-šid šami-e</i> <i>ana e-lat šami-e</i></p> <p>8. [.<i>iḫ</i>]-<i>pa-lis-ma pu-luḫ-ta-šu</i> <i>i-mur</i></p> <p>9. [<i>ina u</i>]-<i>mi</i>⁴-<i>šu</i> ^{11u}<i>A-nu</i> <i>ša A-da-pa</i> <i>e-li-šu. . . . ta iš-kun</i></p> <p>10. [<i>alu</i>]⁵-<i>ki</i> <i>ša</i> ^{11u}<i>E-a</i> <i>šu-ba-ra-šu iš-</i> <i>kun</i></p> <p>11.<i>gu-us-su ana á-kát ū-me</i> <i>ana šu-ḫi-i šim-tam i?-šim?</i>⁶</p> <p>12. [<i>ina ū</i>]-<i>mi A-da-pa ḫi-ir a-mi-lu-</i> <i>ti</i></p> <p>13. [<i>ina. . . .</i>]-<i>ni-šu šal-tiš kaḫ-pi šu-</i> <i>ú-ti iš-bi-ru</i></p> <p>14. [<i>ù</i>] <i>a-na šami-e e-lu-u ši-i lu-u</i> <i>ki-a-am</i></p> <p>15. [<i>iš</i>]-<i>ša-kan u</i> <i>ša lim-niš ana nišē</i> <i>iš-tak-nu</i></p> | <p>4.Anu because of the deed of Ea cried loudly saying,</p> <p>5. "Of the gods of heaven and earth as many as there be who verily would have com- manded thus?"</p> <p>6. Who makes his command to sur- pass the command of Anu?"</p> <p>7.Adapa from the horizon of heaven to the zenith of heaven</p> <p>8.looked and saw its gran- deur.</p> <p>9. Then Anu, <i>as regards</i> Adapa, upon him placed. . . .⁷</p> <p>10. <i>Of the city</i> of Ea he instituted sacerdotal rights⁸ for him.</p> <p>11.his priesthood to glorify unto far away days as a destiny <i>be</i> fixed.</p> <p>12. At the time when Adapa the seed of mankind</p> <p>13. <i>with his</i>.cruelly broke the wings of the south wind,</p> <p>14. and ascended to heaven, this verily so</p> <p>15. is issued. And whatsoever of ill this man has brought upon men</p> |
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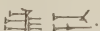
¹ [AN]-MESĜ. AN can no longer be read on the tablet. Likewise in line 3 all signs before TA are now broken away. STRONG, who copied this text twenty years ago, fortunately read these signs before they crumbled away.


² No sign can be seen before *bit*.

³ DA is not certain but possible.

⁴ The end of the sign *mi* can be read.

⁵ Or restore *eri-dug-(ki)* = Eridu.

⁶ *i-šim* is wholly uncertain. I read .

⁷ The loss of this word from our text is regrettable. Apparently Anu places upon Adapa some kind of sorrow. My collation has . I thought at first to read *e-li-šu-ma mi-ta iš-kun*, but the traces are against this.

⁸ *šubarū* is some kind of a religious privilege entitling the inhabitants of certain cities to the revenues of the temples and freedom from national taxation.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>16. [û] <i>mur-šu ša ina zumur nišê</i> <i>iš-tak-nu</i></p> <p>17. [šu-]a-tum ^{ia}<i>Nin-kar-ra-ak u-</i> <i>na-aḥ-ḥu¹</i></p> <p>18. [li]bi-ma <i>si-im-mu mur-šu lis-</i> <i>ḥur</i></p> <p>19. [eli ameli] <i>šu-a-tum ḥar-ba-šu</i> <i>lim-ku-ma</i></p> <p>20. <i>šit-tum ṭab-tum la i-ṣal-</i> <i>lal</i></p> <p>21. <i>lal bu-u-du nu-ug lib-bi</i> <i>nišê</i></p> <p>22. <i>DA-bi</i></p> | <p>16. and the disease he has brought upon the bodies of men,</p> <p>17. the goddess Ninkarrak will allay it.</p> <p>18. May illness depart, may sick- ness turn aside.</p> <p>19. Upon this man may his horror² fall.</p> <p>20.sweet sleep not shall he enjoy.</p> <p>21.?, joy of heart of men.³</p> <p>22.</p> |
|--|--|

Unfortunately this fragment allows no decision concerning the loss of eternal life in the Assyrian version. However, we may assume that it contained essentially the same story of Adapa's rejection of the bread and water. Nevertheless, the text preserves a few precious lines which show that Anu, father of the gods, places a curse upon humanity because of Adapa. As to whether these human sorrows were brought into the world because Adapa had surreptitiously received the revelation of the knowledge of good and evil or because he had refused the offer of immortality, our text remains equivocal. The story of the breaking of the wings of the south wind is a motive incomparably less effective than the scene of the temptation in the Hebrew story. The Eridu version both in the Assyrian and Canaanitish redaction leaves little opportunity for any wilful disobedience on the part of man. Yet his sin is equally fatal, for he attained forbidden knowledge and lost

¹ Sic! I cannot explain the overhanging vowel.

² *ḥarba-šu*, probably in the sense of horrible action, or conduct.

³ This line should refer to the loss of happiness of mankind caused by Adapa, but I can find no interpretation for *bûdu* or *pûdu* which suits the context. *bûdu*, *pûdu* has two meanings, "shoulder," and "staff," or "part of an axe."

for humanity eternal life; through the jealous designs of the water god it is true, and not by his own choice, nevertheless the same penalty follows. Adapa brought woe and disease upon men; and his own sorrows became the most horrible of all. But the gods send a patroness of medicine to heal mankind; Gula or Ninkarrak in fact is the goddess of healing *par excellence* in Sumero-Babylonian religion. On the analogy of the Nippur version of the text we may suppose that this Eridu version ended by describing the mission of other patrons of civilization sent by the great gods to console humanity.

THE NIPPURIAN VERSION OF THE FALL OF MAN ON THE
TABLET IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

In handling the different teachings concerning the loss of Paradise we must, in order not to fall into grievous error, regard each body of teaching as the result of independent speculation in different theological centers. At Eridu the catastrophe results almost wholly through intrigues of a god. Man is here not a free agent, but the pawn of the higher powers.¹ All the versions start with the supposition that when man was created he enjoyed perfect happiness in paradise, oblivious to

¹ The Eridu teaching takes the view that Enki, the water god, revealed not only theological or mystic wisdom unto Adapa (to which the other gods did not object) but also the knowledge of good and evil, a possession he should not have had even for his own good. And Enki appears to have done this out of jealousy of the other gods. Adapa was his own creation to whom he wished to teach all wisdom and all knowledge. We must, however, not make too much of the Enki motive. He appears as a revealing god also in the Babylonian Flood story where he warns Uta-napištim of the plan of the gods to destroy men. Here again he betrays the plans of the gods to man and here for man's good. In the Adapa legend Enki's revelation of the knowledge of good and evil seems to be brought in solely as a means of explaining how Adapa acquired this knowledge. Nevertheless, all the Adapa versions agree in describing the gods as jealous of man's attaining immortality or of his knowing the difference between good and evil.

the existence of indecency, to the knowledge of right and wrong and possessed of perfect health. The major Hebrew version also concedes him great wisdom if I rightly understand it. The Nippurian school allows that men inhabited Paradise until the Flood which seems to have been brought about by the creator god Enki because men did not show respect unto him. However this may be, the problem of the origin of sorrow is not propounded in the teachings of this school until after the Flood. We hear nothing of any famous forbear at the beginning of things who possessed vast intelligence. Only after the Flood does Enki begin to reveal wisdom unto Tagtug the gardener.¹ And the statement in regard to this revelation must be taken with caution for the text is obscure. It is clear, however, that after the Flood Enki becomes intimate with this gardener. Our tablet is obscure regarding the original state of man in respect to immortality. I infer, however, that, like the theologians of Eridu, it also assumes that man did not possess immortal life. In the Flood they dissolve like tallow, says our text, and there seems to be no reference here to even a lost opportunity of attaining this infinite boon.

Enki's conversation with Tagtug in the secret chamber of the temple is broken by a damaged portion of the tablet at the top of the second column of the reverse; but shortly after we read of various plants which grew in the garden, and

¹ This part of the Nippurian version which makes Tagtug a gardener is probably connected with the account of J. in Hebrew which describes Noah as a gardener after the Flood, Gen. 9, 18-27. The Hebrew describes him as the first husbandman and founder of vine growing. In Hebrew we appear to have here an attempt to alleviate the troubles of humanity caused by the barrenness of the soil after God had cursed it. This is the interpretation generally put upon Gen. 5, 29. The planting of the vine is not mentioned in our text, but the rôle of Tagtug, after the Flood is obviously that of a patron of agriculture who redeems the earth made barren by the Flood.

that the mother goddess commanded¹ Tagtug² to take and eat from all except the cassia. We must assume that the goddess had placed this plant in a special category after the list of plants from which she allowed mankind to eat. For when we reach the name of the cassia the phraseology used in connection with the previous plants changes, and it is called the plant whose fate Ninharsag had determined. This goddess had obviously forbidden Tagtug to eat from the cassia, for immediately after he takes and eats he is cursed with human frailty. The Anunnaki, who as children of Enki were the special friends of the newly created men,³ sat in the dust to weep over this direful calamity. Ninharsag in rage regrets that she had created mankind. In a broken passage at the top of Rev. III which follows the story of the Fall we find Ninharsag and the earth god Enlil planning to send divine patrons to assist fallen humanity. Of this latter *motif* we have a trace in the Eridu version where Ninkarrak, *i. e.*, Gula, is sent to heal disease which entered into the world because Enki had revealed knowledge unto Adapa. The Nippurian text names eight divine

¹ *mu-na-ab-bi*: the root *bi* is used in the sense of "to name, proclaim," only in the syllabar, 93058 Rev. 7 in CT. 12, 21. In connected texts *bi* is invariably used in the sense of "to speak, say, command," Assy. *ḫabû*. By taking Ninharsag as the subject and by giving *bi* its ordinary meaning we have a sense in keeping with Genesis 2, 16, "And Jahweh commanded (𒍪𒍪) man, saying, 'from every tree of the garden thou shalt eat, but from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat.'" In the translation which I formerly gave out I interpreted *mu-na-ab-bi* by "he named" and took *lugal-mu*, *i. e.*, *Tagtug* for the subject. This of course led to the inference that Tagtug named the plants; I was influenced here by the Biblical narrative, in which Adam is said to have given names to all living things. This view is probably erroneous. The Sumerian verb for "to give a name to" is *mu-sá-a=šuma nabû*, "to proclaim a name," or simply *nabû* to name. Cf. CT. 13, 36, 4: [*eri*]aṣag-ga kidur ṣag-dug-ga-ge-e-ne mu maḡ-a mi-ni-in-sá-a=álu el-lum šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi-šu-nu ši-riš im-bu-u, "The holy city, abode of their hearts' joy, he named with a far-famed name."

² In Rev. II the name *Tagtug* is not mentioned, but he is referred to as *lugal-mu* "my king," as in Obv. III 9. In fact this hero does not receive the name ^a*Tag-tug* until after the Flood, Rev. I 36.

³ Note also in the Eridu version of the Fall that it is the Anunnaki who give Adapa his name. See DHORME, *Choix* 148, 8 and above page 40.

patrons; over against these I here place the patrons of civilization in the Hebrew (J) narrative.

| SUMERIAN. | HEBREW. |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Abu</i> , patron of pastures, and flocks. ¹ | 1. <i>Abel</i> , patron of flocks. |
| 2. <i>Nintulla</i> , patroness of cattle. | 2. <i>Cain</i> , patron of agriculture. ² |
| 3. <i>Nin-KA-utud</i> patron(ess?) of health. | 3. <i>Enoch</i> , patron of city life. |
| 4. <i>Ninkasi</i> , patroness of the vine and of drinking. | 4. 'Irada. ³ |
| 5. <i>Naṣi</i> , patroness of? | 5. <i>Mēbijjā'ēl</i> , ⁴ patron of health. |
| 6. <i>Daṣimā</i> , patroness of? | 6. <i>Mēthūsbālah</i> . ⁵ |
| 7. <i>Nintil</i> , patroness of femininity. | 7. <i>Lamech</i> , ⁶ patron of psalmody. |
| 8. <i>Enšagmē</i> , patron of wisdom. | 8. <i>Jābāl</i> , patron of tents and flocks. |
| | 9. <i>Jūbāl</i> , patron of music. |
| | 10. <i>Tūbāl-Cain</i> , ² patron of smiths. ⁷ |

¹ *Ab-u* is a title of Tammuz the god of vegetation who dies for his people. In early civilization the king of a city or a human substitute was put to death in the cult of the dying god, see *Tammuṣ and Ishtar* 25 f.; FRAZER, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* 84. It is difficult to see how the slaying of Abel by the jealous Cain in Gen. 4, 2-16 can be based upon the idea of a human sacrifice in honor of the dying god of vegetation. Nevertheless the story in Hebrew seems to have been told to explain this ancient custom. In the Hebrew Cain is the founder of agriculture (Gen. 4, 26) and we know that the whole Tammuz story arose in the idea that a king or man died that agriculture might thrive. Abel, moreover, clearly personifies the sheep necessary for sacrifice; Cain at first offered only fruits, but Abel offered the first born of animals, and only the latter were acceptable. The killing of Abel appears to be based upon the ancient theory that a human being died that the plants might thrive. Later arose the theory that animals might be substituted for this human sacrifice, but animals only. Hence the Cain and Abel story combines both the ancient and the later practices. In Sumerian religion the idea of the human, who symbolizes the dying vegetation, becomes a dying god who returns to earth as symbol of reviving vegetation.

² *ḥ* in the name *Tūbal-Cain*, patron of the smiths, clearly means, "the smith," Arabic *ḥain*, but in the name of the first son of Adam, the word has probably no connection with this Semitic root.

³ So J., Gen. 4, 18; P. has *Jered*, Gen. 5, 15.

⁴ Or *Mēboujā-ēl*; P., *Mabālah-ēl*. The name is probably for *𐎎𐎠𐎢𐎣*, "God makes alive," or "God is my enliverer."

⁵ So P., Gen. 5, 21: J. has *Mēboushā-ēl*, "Man of God" (?). The correct reading is doubtful, and all interpretations given for both readings are dubious.

⁶ *Lamech* is a Hebrew transcript of *lumḥa*, the Sumerian title of Enki(Ea) as patron of the temple musicians, CT. 25, 48, 11; 24, 43, 120. See *Babylonian Liturgies* XXIV f.

⁷ The last three names appear to be of western origin and attached to the earlier Canaanitic tradition which was obtained from Babylon.

The Hebrew regards these patrons as direct descendants of the first man, whereas the Sumerians say that they are of divine origin. The Hebrew list like the Sumerian follows directly upon the story of the Fall. When we consider that the Nippur version also agrees with the Hebrew in making the eating of a plant or tree the direct cause of the Fall of Man, it becomes evident that the Hebrew has been greatly influenced by the doctrines of the Nippur school.

Our text describes the curse only in one line: "The face of life until he dies not shall he see."¹ "Life" in Sumerian means "good health," and we can hardly be wrong in understanding this passage to mean that the great sorrow caused by the Fall is bodily weakness and rapid decay. In Adapa's fall we read only of the bodily miseries which entered the world. The Hebrew too mentions the pain of woman in childbirth as the first of human woes.² Neither the Nippur nor the Adapa version mentions the ejection from Paradise.³ Perhaps this part of the story is peculiar to the Hebrew. Human sorrow, toil and misery surely afflicted men in the land of Dilmun which the Sumerians and Babylonians knew so well. The ejection at all events points no moral to the tale.

The Nippur text represents the Fall as following directly upon eating of the cassia. No revelation of the knowledge of good and evil is mentioned. The curse of Ninharsag seems to be caused by disobedience and this is the sole *motif* we can

¹ The verb *ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en*, Rev. II 38, may be sec. per. sing., since the ending *e+n* could well be an emphatic form of the sec. per. ending *e*; cf. *bé-ib-si-il-e*, Var. *im-ši-il-li-en=tušallit*, SBP. 198, 15. But the verb *ba-dig-gi-a* which must have the same subject is in the third per. It is better to regard *e+n* as an emphatic 3d per. future. *Sum. Gr.* §§223 f.

² Gen. 3, 16. Naturally the Eridu doctrine may have mentioned other sorrows like the Hebrew in the last lines of the Adapa legend which breaks off at the point disease is mentioned.

³ The Nippur text infers that after the Flood the earth was barren and needed irrigation, so that we may conclude that this school believed that the deluge ended the blissful state of Paradise. Only disease and brevity of life had not yet entered the world.

read into this the earliest of all doctrines on the Fall of Man. The plant in question if connected with either of the two trees mentioned in the composite narrative of the Bible must be identified with the tree of life. Our text has *am-ġa-ru* before which the determinative for plant (*ú*) must be supplied. This is clearly identical with *am-ġa-ra*, or Semitic *kasū*, cassia, the most important of all medical plants in antiquity.¹ It is, however, not necessary to assume that the pundits of Nippur, or the myth makers of early Sumer regarded the cassia as a plant capable of bestowing eternal life upon those who ate its fruit or chewed its leaves. The Hebrew undoubtedly knew of such a plant and the same legend appears in the Assyrian Epic of Gilgamesh.² Since Tagtug actually ate from the cassia and consequently brought disease into the world, the plant could not have been regarded as a "tree of life," in the sense of the later Assyrian and Hebrew legends. Undoubtedly the Sumerians regarded the cassia as having marvelous healthgiving properties, but I do not believe that we have here any theory concerning a plant capable of bestowing immortality. The theory taught by the early Sumerian sages seems to be as follows: Man in Paradise had perfect health, extreme longevity,³ and lived peacefully without toil. For some reason not explained to us he failed to show respect to Enki his creator, and hence all but a few pious were destroyed. In this universal deluge Paradise also disappears and thereafter man must live by toil. Wherefore after the deluge Tagtug becomes a gardener, a human raised to the station of a god, for he has now

¹ See PSBA. 1914, 192.

² One of the main *motifs* in this epic is the search for the plant whose name is, "The old man shall be made young." The legend of a tree or plant capable of bestowing immortality occurs only here in Babylonia and is, I believe, of comparatively late origin.

³ See obverse I 24 f.

this title.¹ The problem of the origin of sin does not concern them. They put forward no theory in regard to it, their only teaching in this regard is that sin is a purely religious matter. It consists in disrespect toward the gods and in nothing more or less. But the Flood eliminates all the wicked. After the deluge Tagtug, and we presume his pious mariners, continued a different life in Paradise.² The earth had now become hostile, wherefore the survivor of the deluge became a tiller of the soil. Such was the explanation of the loss of Paradise. But a more serious misfortune was now to follow, namely the entrance of disease and abbreviated mortality. To explain this the sages of Nippur taught that the mother goddess had forbidden man to eat from the cassia. This command he disobeyed and lost, as we have seen, pre-diluvian longevity. They do not appear to have held any views concerning mystic powers which this plant might bestow, so that the interdiction of the cassia is wholly arbitrary. As our text stands the only reason for this injunction seems to be that of testing the obedience of man. I fail to find any other meaning here. In a sense the mother goddess is the temptress who caused this great disobedience.

Have we here the origin of the temptation of Adam by his wife Eve? We know that Eve like Ninharsag was originally an ophidian mother goddess. Has this led further to the Hebrew story concerning the serpent? In Hebrew mythology the ophidian as well as the goddess character of Eve seems to have been lost sight of. Perhaps her serpent origin is retained in

¹ The fact that Tagtug has the divine title is here to be explained by the Sumerian habit of raising kings to the rank of the gods during their reigns. This custom became established during the period of the Ur dynasty several centuries before our tablet was written. It can not have the same sense as the translation of Utanapištim to the lands of the blessed where he attained immortality.

² Also the Biblical narrative P. Gen. 1-2, 4^b+5+6, 9 ff., knows of no expulsion from Paradise, but in the days of Noah the world became full of violence and wickedness, wherefore Jahweh sent the deluge. (Gen. 5, 29 is taken from J.)

the peculiar form in which we know it there. Suppose that the general tradition obtained that a serpent goddess placed this daring temptation before man. Suppose that by the involved crossing of ideas in the evolution of this legend the goddess became the consort of this sorely tried ancestor of man. Evidently the serpent alone would be left to figure as the tempter. Such seems to be the probable construction we must place upon this story. Here it has a doctrinal aspect. The sages of Nippur solve these problems with the minimum of mythological structure. The temptation does not appear in their sacred books. But obviously imaginative folklore sought at once to restore the old motifs, if in fact they had ever given them up. It is conceivable that to these expounders of Sumerian theology the story of a goddess temptress was current mythology. In any case their theories about the origin of toil, the hostility of nature on the one hand, and the origin of bodily weakness on the other are based upon views wholly different from those taught in the legend of Adapa. They place the whole guilt upon man as a free agent. They do not represent the gods as envying him knowledge of any kind. Here man from the beginning passed from catastrophe to catastrophe because he himself failed to have the inflexible will to obey the gods.

THE HEBREW TRADITION

The oldest Hebrew document which traces the history of man from his creation to the days of Terah and Abraham,¹ or the mythological and theological reconstruction of their

¹ This document is roughly as follows: Gen. 2, 4^b-4+5, 19+6, 1-4+6, 5-8+7, 1-12+16-17+22 f+8, 6+12+20-22+9, 18-27+11, 1-9+28-30. For minutiae of textual division see the commentaries on Genesis.

history when analyzed will be found to be another product evolved from the Babylonian doctrines. Here the loss of Paradise and the entrance into the world of disease together with the hostility of nature to man follow shortly after his creation. He appears to have enjoyed the peace of Paradise for only a brief period. For in his Paradise the creator God had placed a tree called the "Tree of the knowledge of good and evil." But Adam like Adapa was initiated into the most profound philosophical knowledge. In wisdom he lacked only the awareness of indecency. Otherwise his knowledge equaled that of the gods. This kind of knowledge could be obtained by eating from this tree, a fact which he did not know. And his creator added the threat that in the day of his eating thereof he would fall a victim to disease.¹ Then a woman is created for his consort to whom a serpent reveals the true meaning of the forbidden tree. She ate and she gave also to her husband, whereupon their eyes were opened and they lost their innocence. Whereupon woman is afflicted with the pangs of childbirth and subserviency to man. And for man God cursed the earth, whereby he henceforth lived only by toil. Both are expelled from Paradise.

Theologically this story is a masterly combination of the Eridu doctrine, known to us only in the Semitic legend of Adapa, and the doctrines of our Nippur tablet. The Adapa legend has influenced the Hebrew particularly in causing the Fall to be placed at the beginning of civilization and in attributing the origin of disease to the forbidden possession of the knowledge of good and evil. In Adapa's case temptation does

¹"Dying thou shalt die," Gen. 2, 17, obviously refers to the beginning of bodily weakness and attenuated mortality. The Babylonian verb *mātu*, cognate to the Hebrew verb employed here, is often employed in this sense.

not figure in the problem. On the other hand, the Nippur teaching has given them the idea of a tree, which under influence of the Eridu school they construct into a tree of knowledge. For given on the one hand the doctrine that man of his own wilful disobedience ate of the fruit of a tree, and on the other that his fall was due to the revelation of knowledge, the ancients inevitably formed a legend regarding a tree of knowledge. Moreover, the idea of temptation latent, and innocently so in the Nippur doctrine, here becomes an important factor. The sin is explained not alone as a wilful act but as the act of a will overcome by the cajolery of woman. *This factor is original in Hebrew.* The idea of a woman tempter in Sumerian is wholly different. Here she is the ophidian mother goddess who places temptation before man only in that she forbids him to eat to test his obedience. But as we have seen the Nippurian doctrine based probably upon a richer and more concrete mythology easily gave rise to the serpent tempter and the woman in Hebrew.

In the ultimate analysis of the origin of human suffering the Hebrew like the tablet No. 4561 traces its cause to man's own frailty. His wavering will fails to comply with the plain injunctions of deity. We have in neither document any trace of divine jealousy,¹ nor any erroneous action whose cause could be traced to superior instigation as in the Adapa teaching.

On the other hand, we seem to have an equally ancient Hebrew document embedded in the text of Genesis 2 and 3 which incorporated more clearly the teachings of Eridu. Here in a gloss in verse 9 of chapter 2 we hear of a tree of life.

¹ The serpent accuses God of jealousy (3, 5) but this is not to be regarded as the doctrine held by the author of J.

And at the end of chapter 2 we again come upon traces of this document which knows of the same tree forbidden in Paradise. "And Jahweh Elohim said, 'Lo, man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil and now lest he put forth his hand and take¹ from the tree of life and eat and live forever.' And so he drove out the man and caused him to dwell east of the Garden of Eden, and he stationed the cherubim, the flaming sword which revolves to guard the way of the tree of life."

This document probably adopted the Eridu teaching concerning the acquisition of knowledge, attributing it to a surreptitious revelation by a god. Here too the gods envy man this knowledge and take steps at once to prevent his attaining immortality. The Eridu school also raise the problem of man's loss of immortality in connection with his acquisition of knowledge. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that a Hebrew document which depended upon that source, would raise the same problem. Now this teaching regarding eternal life for man is late in Babylonia. Such a thing could not occur as possible in the Sumerian schools whose whole attitude toward man regarded him as dust of the earth to which he must inevitably return. But a longing after this priceless boon gave rise to that widespread belief that after all the gods possess bread and water which bestow eternal life, or that in some far away Paradise grows an herb of healing to infuse mortals with immortality. In Babylonian tradition this plant was well known, and the same idea traveled westward to the Hebrews. They too adopted this same theory that man lost immortality through

¹The MT. has here \square_2 , "also" which implies in the same source also a tree of knowledge. The Septuagint and the Syriac texts omit \square_2 and this is surely the correct text. It then follows that $\square_2 \square_2 \square_2 \square_2$, "tree of life" in 2, 9 stands in a false position there and has deranged the text.

the jealousy of the gods; here by being expelled from Eden before they proceeded to eat from the tree of life, there because a jealous god had advised his protégé not to partake of the bread of life.

The story of early Hebrew origins as told by the priests of a later age speaks of no Paradise and mentions no sin until the days of Noah.¹ We may infer, *ex silentio*, however, that this document supposed that in the long ages ruled over by the ten patriarchs men lived in a sinless state enjoying extreme longevity. According to this narrative, in the days of the tenth patriarch the world became full of violence, wherefore God destroyed all but this patriarch and his family in the deluge. This scheme of the priestly writer agrees with the theologians of Nippur. That Hebrew narrative makes the Flood begin on the 17th day of the second month, the text of tablet No. 4561 on the 1st of the first month. There it rises five months² and recedes until the 27th of the second month of the next year, in all one year and ten days; here the flood endures eight months and nine days. Thus the priestly narrative approximately agrees with the tablet No. 4561 in the chronology of the Flood. On the other hand, the older Hebrew story makes the waters rise 40 days and recede 21 days, a much shorter period. This chronology agrees more closely with that of the Semitic Babylonian story where the waters increase six days and cease the seventh. At a distance of twelve double hours march³ Utanapištim sees the top of a mountain. The time taken to reach it is not given, but after the landing he waits seven days to send forth a dove. Since he sends two

¹ Gen. 1-2, 4 a+5+6, 2-22.

² One hundred and fifty days.

³ That is obviously the meaning of the Babylonian poem; see DHORME, *Choix* 113 note on line 140.

other birds at intervals we suppose that seven days separated these, so that we have the same story as that of the ancient (J) narrative in Genesis 8, 6-12, where Noah sends three birds at intervals of seven days each. Hence we have on the one hand the long chronology of the Sumerian account and the priestly Hebrew narrative, and on the other the short chronology of the Babylonian version and the ancient Hebrew document. In a sense the revelation of wisdom to Tagtug the gardener in the tablet No. 4561 is parallel to instructions which God reveals to Noah in the priestly document.¹ Both conversations follow immediately after the Flood. If the priest's narrative in Hebrew knew of any further story of the disobedience and loss of continued good health which should follow here he has left us no trace of it. Nevertheless his close adherence to the theories of the Nippur school is clear enough. After the Flood he fills in the history from that event to the age of Abraham by a genealogy of nine patriarchs, whose lives are of considerable length.² Nevertheless even here we have a rapid decline in longevity and the ages of these are on the whole less by half than those of the ten patriarchs before the deluge. The Babylonians also told of the incredible ages of the heroes before this catastrophe. We are, I believe, on safe grounds in assuming that in agreement with the sages who wrote our epic of the Fall of Man there was in Babylonia a deeply rooted tradition that the greatest of all catastrophes, the loss of long life, overtook mankind only after he had lived in Paradise for many ages. Such I believe to have been the doctrine adopted by the scribe to whom we owe the priestly narrative in

¹ Gen. 9, 1-8.

² Gen. 11, 10-26. Omitting Shem who belongs to the race before the Flood, we have Arpakšad 438 years, Shelah 433, 'Ēber 464, Peleg 239, Re'ū 239, Serūg 230, Nāhōr 148, and Terah 205. (Masoretic text; Samaritan and Greek differ slightly.)

Hebrew. He surely pursued his investigations beyond the Semitic poems of Babylonia, rehearsed by the Canaanites before the Hebrew occupation. He must have come under the influence of the great Babylonian renaissance which set in, in the middle of the seventh century; an age when the scholars of Babylon studied the theological systems of their remote past. The theologians of Nippur particularly attracted them as we know from their corpus of temple liturgies.¹ The tablet which forms the subject of this volume proves the profundity of their thinking in the region of ethics and philosophy. We venture to think that no document has yet been recovered from the ruins of the past to which such a volume of influence can be traced from our own civilization for the immense period of four thousand years. The great Hebrew documents, which propound the harassing problem of the origin of human sorrows, would have been impossible without the pious and scholarly teaching of these pre-Semitic poets of Nippur. And we all realize, perhaps too little, the incalculable influence which these Hebrew masterpieces have exercised upon the ethical and religious mentality of a considerable portion of the human race.

THE BABYLONIAN TRADITION CONCERNING THE PRE-DILUVIAN PERIOD

Old Testament critics speak of Gen. 4, 16-23 (J.) as the Cainite genealogy,² and the ten patriarchs of Gen. 5 (P.) as the Sethite genealogy. The earlier list of the J. document with its seven patriarchs is obviously based upon the Sumero-

¹ See the Introduction to the author's *Babylonian Liturgies*.

² For genealogical purposes Abel is not included in this list. But when the list is understood in its true perspective, Abel must be included, since this document places upon him the rôle of patron of flocks and originator of animal sacrifice.

Babylonian tradition of divine patrons of industries. The early Hebrew legend constructed these into a genealogy. The Sethite genealogy of the later P. document although employing all of the seven earlier patron names, except for obvious reasons Abel, in more or less modified forms and in slightly different order has, as is well known, attempted to reproduce the Babylonian scheme of ten legendary kings who ruled during the 432,000 years before the Flood. The Babylonian kings in this legend were not all divine patrons but some were famous mythological rulers who belong to that period of longevity before the Fall of Man. The Hebrew in both documents has thoroughly transformed the Babylonian sources. The list in Gen. 5 reproduces, it is true, the spirit of the Babylonian legend of the ten kings, in that it holds them to be rulers in a long dynasty and largely misunderstands those who had a connection with the arts.¹ In fact this genealogy has largely replaced the names of the Babylonian by the names of Hebrew patrons of civilization, whose meanings were clear to J., but wholly misunderstood by the authors of P. This Babylonian list which is preserved only in the fragments of Berossus² seems to contain both Sumerian and Semitic names. I translate so far as possible in order to show that they are not all based upon the idea of patrons of the arts;

1. **Alwros*, Alorus, of Babylon, a Chaldean. Source unknown.³ Reigned 36,000 years.

¹ Note how P. changes *Mebijjāel*, a name connected with healing, into *Mábāld-ēl*, "Praise of God." For Cain which at least in Gen. 4, 22 means a "smith," P. has *Kēnān*, probably a word having no connection with *Kayin*, Cain. *Irād*, surely a Sumerian or Babylonian word for some craft, is distorted to *Yéred*, "descent."

² See CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, 30 f.

³ Hardly connected with the mother goddess *Aruru* as asserted by Hommel and Jeremias. The name is Sumerian.

2. Ἀλάπαρος, Alaparus. Probably for Adaparus, Adapa, a Sumerian,¹ a sage.² Reigned 10,800 years.

3. Ἀμήλων, Amēlon,³ of Pantibiblus (*i. e.*, Sippar?). This name is Semitic, Babylonian *amēlu*, "man."⁴ Reigned 46,800 years.

4. Ἀμμένων, Ammenōn, the Chaldean.⁵ This name is probably from *umṁānu*,⁶ "skilled workman," and is the only name in this list which clearly suggests connection with divine patrons of culture. Reigned 43,200 years.

5. Μεγάλαρος,⁷ of Pantibiblus. Reigned 64,800 years.

6. Δάωνος, Daōnus,⁸ a shepherd of Pantibiblus, Reigned 36,000 years. The Greek calls him a ποιμήν, shepherd, which suggests perhaps that the Babylonians have preserved here the name of a patron of flocks, like Abu of our text or Abel of the Hebrew. The shorter form of the word *Daōs*, preserved in

¹ Obviously the same Adapa of Eridu who in the legend of Adapa is credited with being the ancestor of mankind. For this reason SAYCE, *Florilegium Melchior De Vogué* 544, has read *A-DA-PA* as *A-da-mu*. In fact a Neo-Babylonian syllabar, ZA. 9, 163 IV 6, says that the sign *PA* has the value *mu* in the dialect *TE-NAD*. Of course we might expect the Hebrew to have borrowed the name *Adapa* as well as the legend, but I remain unconvinced as in my note *Tam-muz and Ishtar*, 32 f. 𐎠𐎢𐎩, "man," and 𐎠𐎢𐎩𐎠, "earth," obviously belong together, and I am sure that *ābhāmā* cannot be defended as Sumerian. Moreover, the Sumerian reading *A-da-pa* is proven by the writing *A-DA-PAD*, *i. e.*, *A-da-pa(d)*, hence *A-da-pa*, as it occurs in the legend, is an abbreviation for *Adapad*. *A-da-pad abkal Eridi*, "Adapa the sage of Eridu," IV R. 58 I 24; here he is regarded as a divine magician; cf. ZA. 16, 170, 24. Senecherib says that Ea gave him vast intelligence and *šin-na-at abkalli A-da-pad*, "the likeness of the sage Adapa," Lay. 38, 4. Ašurbanipal says that *tu ab-kal-li A-da-pad ahu*, "I learned the . . . of the sage Adapa," LEHMANN, *Sbam*. L.⁴ Pl. 34, 13. Sargon also says that he is a king with the *šin-na-at abkalli*, "likeness of the sage," Sarg. Cyl. 38. In HARP. *Lett.* 923, 8 *abkallu u A-da-pad*, "sage and an Adapa" are titles of a king. Hence Adapa was renowned in mythology as the wisest of men.

² HOMMEL, PSBA. 1893, 243.

³ Var. Abydenus Ἀμίλλαρος; Armenian ed. of Eusebius *Almelon*.

⁴ HOMMEL, *ibid.*

⁵ Abydenus says he was from Pantibiblus.

⁶ HOMMEL, PSBA. 1893, 244. *umṁānu* is a loan-word in Semitic from Sumerian.

⁷ Var. of Abydenus in Syncellus Codex Par. Μεγάλανος. Armenian *Amegalarus*.

⁸ Abydenus, Δάως.

Abydenus may perhaps stand for Λαώς;¹ we have already assumed a confusion of this kind in Adapa(d)=Alaparus. Laōs by interchange of liquids $l > r$ might revert to an older Raōs; there would then be no difficulty in seeing in this name the Babylonian *re'u*, Hebrew *rō'ē* "shepherd."

7. Εὐεδώραχος, Euedorachus of Pantibiblus.² Doubtlessly identical with the Sumerian mythical sage Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, to whom the oracular gods Shamash and Adad revealed the mysteries of divination; said to have been created by Ninharsag herself.³ The name is pure Sumerian, and means "Lord of the decrees of the totality of heaven and earth." Reigned 64,800 years.

8. Ἀμεμψινός, Amempsinus, a Chaldean from Laranchæ, *i. e.*, Larak.⁴ Reigned 36,000 years. Generally regarded as Semitic for *Amel-Sin*, "Man of Sin,"⁵ but I doubt this. The name must be of great antiquity and, originating in a Sumerian center, should be Sumerian. Sin, the name of the moon god, is also a somewhat late Sumerian contraction for the earlier *zu-en*. However, no better suggestion has been made.⁶

9. Ὀπάρτης, Opartes,⁷ a Chaldean of Laranchæ. Reigned 28,800 years. Berossus makes Opartes the father of Xisuthrus, hero of the Flood. According to the Babylonian version the

¹ A connection with Babyl. *le'u*, "wise, intelligent," would be probable, if we assume this to be original.

² Abydenus, Εὐεδωρέσχος, Ἀεδωρέσχος; Armenian, Eusebius, Eдоранхус.

³ See ZIMMERN, *Ritual Tafeln*, No. 24, for the identification and the text which describes the origin of divination through the hero En-me-dur-an-ki.

⁴ A city of great antiquity mentioned in the Creation Epic, and located by Poebel, after a passage in CLAY, *PBS*. Vol. II No. 181, 7, on the old Tigris southeast of Nippur. See POEBEL, *Creation and Deluge*, 41.

⁵ So HOMMEL, *PSBA*. 1893, 245.

⁶ Since the city Isin lay in the vicinity of Larak (SBH. 86, Rev. 10-12; CT. 15, 25, 20-3) perhaps we should look for this word in the end of Amempsinus. See SBP. 160, note 7.

⁷ Apollodorus has Ὀτιάρτης, but this has been corrected to Opartes, and identified with Ubar-Tutu.

father of Uta-napištim¹ was *Ubar-dTu-Tu*,² moreover Uta-napištim is said to have been a "Man of Šuruppak," and Laranchæ and Šuruppak were probably names of adjacent quarters of the great city Isin. Hence both Opartes and Ubar-dTutu belong to the same city.

10. *Ξίσουθρος*, Xisuthrus, son Opartes. Reigned 64,800 years. The Greek is based upon the Semitic title of Uta-napištim, *atra-ḥasisu > ḥasis-atra*, "The supremely wise."³

In this list all those names designated as Chaldean are probably Sumerian. In fact Berossus appears to employ the word "Chaldean" in the sense of "Sumerian" here. It is curious that the only names certainly Semitic, Nos. 3, 6, are from Pantibiblus. Even here we have in No. 7 a Sumerian ruler. On the whole this list is preponderatingly Sumerian.

THE MEANING OF THE NAME TAGTUG

I have already defended in print a possible connection of the Sumerian name Tagtug with the Hebrew Nōah.⁴ The argument to which I have nothing new to add is as follows.

¹ Semitic translation of Sumerian *Zi-ud*.

² This name is also Sumerian and means "The protégé of the god *Tu(d)-tu(d)*." The title *Tu-tu* is one assumed by Marduk in religious texts of the Assyrian period but even there it does not always apply to him, e. g., *Šurpu* IV 45, VIII, 12. This title is unknown before the period of the first Babyl. dynasty. Hammurapi uses it without a determinative for god, Code III 10, and in that section which refers to Barsippa. The title occurs in n.pra. of this period but not before or after. It may be that the two n.pra. in V R. 44, 6 and 21, which are Sumerian and contain this title, belong to this period or slightly earlier. In the Assyrian rendering the god Marduk is used, but this is based upon later views. In the period when these names were given *Tu-tu* probably referred to some other god, probably a local deity of Šuruppak or Larak, both of which seem to have been parts of the famous city Isin, where Gula was worshipped, SBP. 160 n. 7 and 26, 7. It is surprising that a deity who appears so late in the history of the pantheon should here occur in the name of a prehistoric Sumerian ruler.

³ This title appears as *at-ra-ḥa-sis*, in the Gilgamesh version, DHORME, 118, 196 and in an early Babylonian version, *Frag. Scheil* VIII 4, as *at-ra-am-ḥa-si-is*. The hero of the Flood has also the same title *atra-ḥasis* in a fragment from another version, DHORME, 126, 11. The inversion *ḥasis-atra* is probably based upon a too mechanical rendering of the Sumerian *PI-DIRIG(?)*.

⁴ PSBA. 1914, 189.

Since we know that the Babylonians did not employ the Sumerian name of the hero of the Sumerian epic of the Creation and the Flood, viz., *Zi-ud-sud-du*, but translated it into Semitic by *Uta-napištim*, we may expect that the Babylonians who preferred the Nippur epic would likewise render Tagtug by its Semitic translation. Although no Babylonian version has been found based upon the Nippurian, yet Hebrew mythology was obviously much indebted to it. The problem is, then, to translate *tag-tug* and if possible to justify a translation from which the Hebrew Nōah (נֹחַ) might be derived. Both words *tag* and *tug* are derived from the Sumerian stem $\sqrt{t-g}$, whose general meaning is "to rest, repose." The form of the root *tug* is regularly rendered by *nāḥu*, "to repose." As for the form with internal vowel *a*, *tag*, we know that it can be rendered by *labāṣu*, a word usually taken to mean "cast down;" the ordinary meaning of the root *tag* is the active of the idea generally expressed by *tug*, i. e., "to cause to rest, to suppress, to beat down violently." These two ideas are connected and we need not hesitate to suppose that the intransitive idea of "repose, to come to an end," was expressed by the active root *tag* also. *labāṣu* is probably the same root as *rabāṣu*, "to lie down;" it is true that the verb *labāṣu* is explained by *tag* in a syllabar where it occurs between *zu'unu*, "to fashion skillfully," and *maḥāṣu ša mimma*, "to hammer something," and the verb has undoubtedly the same active idea here.¹ Also in the only other passage where *labāṣu* occurs it is given the same active sense "to cast down."² Naturally this persistent use of *labāṣu* in the sense of "cast down, smite," may exclude

¹ Syl. C 292-5.

² *ka-ṣu-gál*=*la-ba-ṣu*, Syn. *laban appi*, CT. 13, 32, 11.

a connection with *rabāšu*,¹ and render the whole argument so far as this word is concerned ineffective. Nevertheless the possibility of the root *tag* having this meaning need not depend upon evidence so fragile. The cognate *dag* means both *ašābu*, "to sit," and *šubtu*, "abode, place of repose."² The form with internal vowel *e*, *teg*, is one of the ordinary words in Sumerian for *pašābu* and *nābu*, "to rest," as well as the variant *ten*.³ Also *tug* has the variant *tub*, a word which is repeatedly employed for *nābu*. This evidence would under ordinary circumstances induce a Sumerologist acquainted with the tendency of the language to use the stems of roots with various internal vowel inflections all in the same sense to expect a root *tag*, "to rest, repose." A reduplicated stem like *tag-tug* would ordinarily have an active sense, and be rendered by the piel in Semitic. Granting that we have here such a reduplicated stem for *nābu*, *tag-tug*, should be rendered by *nābu*, "to cause to repose," and the permansive singular would be *nu-ub*, "he is appeased," *i. e.*, "God is appeased," "God's wrath is made to repose." Such was the theory by which I connected this name with the Hebrew *Nōah*. In its favor we can also urge the appropriateness of this name for the hero who survived the deluge, by which the anger of the gods against sinful men was appeased.

Against this theory we may adduce the fact that no direct evidence for the meaning "to rest," for *tag* has been adduced. And much more serious than this will be the objection that, when Sumerian wished to express intense action and causation, they double the same form of the root, not different

¹ This was the reason for my entry to *tag* in the sense of "rest, abide," in *Sum. Gr.* 245. Cf. *nabāšu*, *napāšu*, "to overwhelm."

² See *Sum. Gr.* 208; SBP. 320, 12; BÖLLENRÜCHER, *Nergal*, 31, 12, *dāg-ga*=*šub-ti*; MEISSNER, SAI. 3869. *dāg-na nu-un-til*=*ina šubti-šu ul ašib*, MEEK, BA. X, No. 38, 9.

³ See *Sum. Gr.* 247.

forms of it. We should expect for this idea *tug-tug*, or *tag-tag*, like *gar-gar*, *mal-mal*, etc. I am unable to find any examples of the reduplication of a stem in which two vowels not of the same kind are employed. On the whole we must regard this interpretation as doubtful. To say impossible, would be to allow too little scope for future discoveries. To accept it as proven would lead to uncertain conclusions.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

OBVERSE I

| | |
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| <p>1. [<i>e-ne-ba-ám e-ne-ba-ám me-en-ši-en</i>]</p> <p>2. [<i>kùr</i>] <i>Dilmun ki-aṣag-ga-ám</i></p> <p>3. [<i>ki-aṣag-]ga e-ne ba-ám me-en-ši-en</i></p> <p>4. <i>kùr Dilmun ki-aṣag-ga-ám</i></p> <p>5. <i>kùr Dilmun ki-aṣag-ga-ám kùr Dilmun el-ám</i></p> <p>6. <i>kùr Dilmun el-ám kùr Dilmun læg-læg-ga-ám</i></p> | <p>1. They that slept, they that slept are ye.¹</p> <p>2. [In mountain of] Dilmun which is an holy place,</p> <p>3. [In the holy place] they that slept are ye.</p> <p>4. the mountain of Dilmun which is an holy place.</p> <p>5. The mountain of Dilmun which is an holy place, the mountain of Dilmun is pure.</p> <p>6. The mountain of Dilmun is pure, the mountain of Dilmun is clean.</p> |
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¹ References to the sleeping chamber of each of the great gods and his consort can be supplied from religious texts which concern other cult centers. An illuminating comment upon this passage will be found in the Scheil Fragment of the Adapa legend where the poet says of Adapa:

“In those days Adapa a man of Eridu,
 When the chieftain Ea paraded unto the sleeping chamber,
 Daily guards the bolt of Eridu.”
enumišu Adapa mār (âl) Eridi
[mas-]su(d) i^{lu}Ea ina maṣali ina ṣadadi
ūmišamma ṣigar (âl) Eridi iššar.

For the restitution *mas-su(d)* = *massû*, “leading goat,” and title of Ea, see CT. 16, 20, 124. ZIMMERN first made this evident restoration which was unfortunately rejected by other editors. See for the text DHORME, *Choix* 150, 16–18.

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| <p>7. <i>áš-ni-ne Dilmun-(ki)-a ù-bé in-nad¹</i></p> <p>8. <i>ki ^den-ki dam-a-ni-da ba-an-da-ná-a-ba</i></p> <p>9. <i>ki-bi el-ám ki-bi lăg-lăg-ga-ám</i></p> <p>10. <i>áš-ni-ne</i></p> <p>11. <i>ki ^den-ki ^dnin-el-la² ba-an-[da-ná-a-ba]</i></p> <p>12. <i>ki-bi el-ám</i></p> <p>13. <i>Dilmun-(ki)-a ú-nag-ga-(ġu)dúg-dúg nu-mu-ni-bi³</i></p> <p>14. <i>dar-(ġu)-e ġu-dar-(ġu)-ri nu-mu-ni-ib-bi</i></p> <p>15. <i>ur-gu-la sag-ġiš nu-ub⁴-ra-ra</i></p> <p>16. <i>ur-bar-ra-ġe⁵ síl nu-ub- ġar- ri</i></p> <p>17. <i>lik-ku máš gam-gam nu- te- -ba</i></p> <p>18. <i>tud(?)še-kur-kur-e nu- te- ba</i></p> | <p>7. Alone in Dilmun they lay down;</p> <p>8. Where Enki with his consort lay,</p> <p>9. That place is pure, that place is clean.</p> <p>10. Alone in Dilmun they lay down.</p> <p>11. Where Enki with the pure di-vine queen lay down,</p> <p>12. That place is pure, that place is clean.</p> <p>13. In Dilmun the raven⁶ shrieked not.</p> <p>14. The kite⁷ shrieked not, kitelike.</p> <p>15. The lion⁸ slew not.</p> <p>16. The wolf plundered not the lambs.</p> <p>17. The dog approached not the kids in repose.</p> <p>18. <i>The mother</i> (goat) as it fed on grain he disturbed not.</p> |
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¹ For *ù-nad* = *šalálu*, v. IV R. 13b 39 *ù-ba-ra-e-ne* = *la ašlalu*. The verb should be inflected with the dual ending *áš-áš*, but this is found rarely and only after nouns, *Sum. Gr.* §130. The above passage is the only example of a dual verb known to me and we may conclude that no inflection existed for the dual in the Sumerian conjugation. *ù-ne* becomes *e-ne* in *e-ne-ba-ám*, "he that slept," or "they two that slept."

² This title is applied also to the consort of Negin, son of Ninlil, in CT. 24, 26, 113; Negin is a name of Ninurašā. Note also the connection of these deities in *ituNeginna-e(?) -mu-ki(?)* son of *Amel-^dNinella*, CT. 8, 44b 18 f. Also *gašan-el-la*, SBP. 170, 6 is a title of Gula, Bau or a similar mother goddess. Only in this passage does the title apply to Damkina. In line 31 she is represented as the daughter of Enki.

³ Cf. *dúg-mu-ni-ib-bi*, [The storm in heaven] shrieked, ZIMMERN, K. L., 28 Rev. 31 ff. Also SBH. 97, 74 *an-la a-nun-na dúg-bé-ib-bi*, "On high the tempest shrieked."

⁴ The sign is clearly *te* but *ub* should be expected.

⁵ Cf. DHORME, *Choix* 118 l. 190.


⁶ Bird of the storm, and symbol of the city of Lagash.

⁷ In any case a storm bird which flies high and has a shrill voice, SBP. 240, 47. Note that the *tarru*, a loan-word from *dar*, is rendered in Sumerian by *NAM+ŠAB-dar-ġu* in CT. 14, 4, 6 and *NAM+ŠAB* is the raven (*aribu*), hence a bird allied to the raven; in the same passage the "night bird" *iššur mūši* precedes. MUSS-ARNOLT, *Lexicon*, 129a renders "kite" which is probable.

⁸ The Semitic deluge l. 188 has *ur-maġ*.

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| <p>19. <i>nu-mu-un-ṣu dīm-išgar -ra-bi... -ba</i></p> <p>20. <i>mušen-e an-na dīm-bi nu.....e</i></p> <p>21. <i>tud-(ḡu)-e sag-nu-mu-un-da- šub-e¹</i></p> <p>22. <i>igi-ḡig-e igi-ḡig me-en nu-mu- ni-bi</i></p> <p>23. <i>sag-ḡig-gi sag-ḡig me-en nu</i></p> <p>24. <i>um-ma-bi um-ma me-en nu</i></p> <p>25. <i>ab-ba-bi ab-ba me-en nu</i></p> <p>26. <i>ki-el a-nu-tú-a-ni eri-a nu-mu-ni- ib-sḡ-gi</i></p> <p>27. <i>galu id-da bal-e-mi-dé nu-mu- ni-bi</i></p> <p>28. <i>ligir-e X² ga-na nu-um-nigin</i></p> <p>29. <i>lul-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi</i></p> <p>30. <i>galam eri-ka i-dúr³ nu-mu</i></p> <p>31. <i>^dnin-el-la a-a-ni ^den-ki-ra ḡu- mu-na-de-a</i></p> | <p>19. The (ewes) impregnate their <i>foetus</i>....</p> <p>20. The birds of heaven their young [<i>forsook</i>] not.</p> <p>21. The doves were not put to flight.</p> <p>22. "Oh disease of the eyes thou art the 'Sick Eye,'" one said not.⁴</p> <p>23. "Oh head ache thou art the 'Head Ache,'" one said not.</p> <p>24. As to the old woman, "thou art an old woman" one said not.</p> <p>25. As to the old man, "thou art an old man" one said not.</p> <p>26. A pure place where water was not poured for cleansing in the city one inhabited not.</p> <p>27. "A man has changed a canal," one said not.</p> <p>28. A prince his <i>wisdom withheld</i> not.⁵</p> <p>29. "A deceiver deceives," one said not.</p> <p>30. "The <i>counsellor</i> of a city," one said not.</p> <p>31. Ninella to Enki her⁶ father spoke.</p> |
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¹ This compound probably illustrates a fact in regard to the prefix *sag* already noted by DELITZSCH in his *Glossary*, p. 233. *sag* does not appear to alter the meaning of a compound. Cf., beside the examples cited by DELITZSCH, *sag-bi*=*tamú*, *sag-ḡiš-ra*=*nèru*.

² The sign is *šessig* of , with the modifying lines on the right of the sign, and usually has the value *galam*, skillful, see BE. XXXI 45. For the simple sign see line 30. Should we suppose a value *galag-ga* > *galam-ma*?

³ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 26 Rev. I 17.

⁴ The idea is taken from the incantations against the demons of disease.

⁵ The meaning of this line has been suggested by *nigin-galam-ma*=*šúkuru*, to make rare.

⁶ *Ninella*, the consort and daughter of Enki, is obviously identical with *Damgalnunna* in II 32, who is there represented as the daughter of Enki. *Damgalnunna* is ordinarily represented as the consort of Enki in religious texts.

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| <p>32. <i>eri-mu-e-siġ eri-mu-e-siġ nam</i> <i>mu-sum-ma-za</i></p> <p>33. <i>Dilmun eri mu-e-siġ eri</i></p> <p>34. [...]<i>mu-e-siġ eri</i></p> <p>35. <i>id-da nu un tuk a</i></p> <p>36. [<i>eri</i>]<i>mu-e-siġ eri</i></p> <p>37. <i>da</i></p> <p>38. <i>a a</i></p> | <p>32. "A city thou hast founded, a city thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given.</p> <p>33. In Dilmun a city thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).</p> <p>34. thou hast founded a city (thou hast founded and a fate hast given).</p> <p>35. (<i>which</i>) a canal has not.</p> <p>36. [...]<i>thou hast founded, a city (thou hast founded and a fate thou hast given).</i></p> |
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About seven lines broken away.

OBVERSE II

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| <p>1. <i>ġir-ma-an-gal-la-za a ġe-im-ta-ě¹</i> <i>de</i></p> <p>2. <i>eri-zi a ġe-gál-la ġu-mu-ra-nag-</i> <i>nag</i></p> <p>3. <i>Dilmun-ki a ġe-gál-la</i></p> <p>4. <i>dul a-šeš-a-zi dul a dug-ga ġe-</i> <i>im-[-ta-da-du-ne]</i></p> <p>5. <i>eri-zi é ġú-ka-ra² kalam-ma-ka</i> <i>ġe-a</i></p> <p>6. <i>Dilmun-ki é</i></p> <p>7. <i>ì-dé-šú³ ^ababbar ud-dé- a</i></p> <p>8. <i>^ababbar an-na gub-bi- e</i></p> | <p>1. In thy great may waters flow.</p> <p>2. Thy city may drink water in abundance.</p> <p>3. Dilmun may drink water in abundance.</p> <p>4. Thy pools of bitter waters as a pool of sweet waters may flow.</p> <p>5. Let thy city be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.</p> <p>6. Let Dilmun be the home which assembles the Land of Sumer.</p> <p>7. Now oh Sun-god shine forth.</p> <p>8. Oh Sun-god in heaven stand.</p> |
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¹ The photograph appears to have *da-du* not *DUL-DU(=ě)*, but in line 12 the sign *DUL* is clearly written. This curious form of the sign REC. 233 I have found nowhere else. The identification with *DUL* is the only one which seems possible.

² Probably for *ġú-gar-ra = puḫḫuru*, RA. 10, 71 II 1.

³ Cf. *ì-dé-šú = inanna*, IV R. 13, Rev. 40 in Corrections and PSBA. 1914, 192.

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| <p>9. <i>gír-du-a duġ-ezen ki-na-ta</i></p> <p>10. <i>suġur-e</i> ^d<i>nanna(r)-a-ta</i></p> <p>11. <i>ka-a-ki-a-laġ-ta a-dug-ki-ta mu-na-ra- gub</i></p> <p>12. <i>gír-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-ě-dé</i></p> <p>13. <i>eri-ni a ġe-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag</i></p> <p>14. <i>Dilmun-(ki) a ġe-[gal-la im-ta-nag-nag]</i></p> <p>15. <i>dul a-šeš-a-ni a-dug-ga na-nam</i></p> <p>16. <i>a-šag aġar-ra?</i>¹ <i>nam-a-ni še-mu-na-ab-?</i></p> <p>17. <i>eri-ni é gú-ḡar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam</i></p> <p>18. <i>Dilmun-(ki) é-gú-[ḡar-ra kalam-ma-ka na-nam]</i></p> <p>19. <i>ì-dé-šu</i> ^d<i>babbar ud-dé-a ūr ġe na-nam-ma</i>²</p> <p>20. <i>áš-ḡal</i>³ <i>gišpitug-gi tuk-a</i></p> <p>21. ^d<i>nin-tud-ama-kalama-šu</i></p> <p>22. ^d<i>en-ki-ge gišpitug-gi tuk-a</i></p> <p>23. ^d<i>nin-tud</i></p> <p>24. <i>uš</i>⁴-<i>a-ni e-a ba-an-ši-in-dun</i>⁵</p> | <p>9. He that marches from his place.</p> <p>10. the Moon-god</p> <p>11. From the <i>mouth</i> of the earth walking forth, with sweet waters of the earth he comes unto thee."</p> <p>12. In his great waters went up.</p> <p>13. His city drank water in abundance.</p> <p>14. Dilmun drank water in abundance.</p> <p>15. His pool of bitter waters was (a pool of) sweet water.</p> <p>16. The low-lands</p> <p>17. His city was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer).</p> <p>18. Dilmun was the home which assembles the Land (of Sumer).</p> <p>19. Now oh Sun-god shine forth. Verily it was so.</p> <p>20. He the renderer of decision, the possessor of wisdom,</p> <p>21. To Nintud the mother of the Land of Sumer,</p> <p>22. Enki the possessor of wisdom,</p> <p>23. Even unto Nintud (the mother of the Land of Sumer)</p> <p>24. His counsel in the temple revealed.</p> |
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¹ The signs are not precisely those of *KAR-RA*.

² *šuatū lū kiam*, "verily it was so." This phrase was rendered into Hebrew by וַיְהִי כֵן.

³ Below *NI* a clearly written *TAR*. Perhaps *ḡal* > *ḡil* > *sil* and glossed *sil*.

⁴ *uš* = *šemu*, v. *Sum. Gr.* 255.

⁵ *dun* = *pītū šā nāri*, "to open a canal," V Raw. 42a 55, is a rendering derived from *dun* to dig, hence "to open a canal." See also *Bab. Liturgies* 120, 15. From this meaning the verb received the sense of "to reveal."

25. *á-a-ni gi-a kàs-kàs¹-e ba-an-ši-
kàs-kàs-e* 25. His revelation in the *reed-house*
as a decision he rendered unto
her.
26. *uš-a-ni bar-šú maġ-dug ša-ba-ra-
an-zi-zi* 26. His counsel in secret grandly
and beneficently to her he
affirmed.
27. *gù-bé-in-de mà-ra galu nu-mu-
un-dib-bi* 27. He spoke. "Unto me man en-
ters not."⁴
28. *^den-ki-ge gù-bé²-in-de* 28. Enki spoke,
29. *zi-an-na ni- pad* 29. By heaven he swore.
30. *ná-a³ mà-ra ná-a mà-ra enim-ni* 30. "Cause him to sleep⁵ for me,
cause him to sleep for me,"
was his word.
31. *^den-ki-ge a ^ddam-gal-nun-na enim
-ni mi-ni-in-dug* 31. Enki the father of Damgal-
nunna uttered his word.
32. *^dnin-ġar-sag-ġà-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-
in-rig* 32. Ninharsag the fields. . . .⁶
33. *ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-
ga-ka* 33. The fields received the waters of
Enki.
34. *ud-āš-ám iti- áš-a-ni* 34. It was the first day whose
month is the first.
35. *ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni* 35. It was the second day whose
month is the third.
36. *ud-eš-ám iti-eš-a-ni* 36. It was the third day whose
month is the third.
37. *ud-lim-ám iti-lim-a-ni* 37. It was the fourth day whose
month is the fourth.
38. *ud-ia-ám* 38. It was the fifth day [whose
month is the fifth].
39. *ud-āš-ám* 39. It was the sixth day [whose
month is the sixth].

¹ For *kas* = *purussū*, v. *ka-āš*, SBH. 77, 7.

² The reading *bé* for *ne* is a suggestion of POEBEL.

³ *šuni'il*, CT. 16, 45, 47.

⁴ See for another suggestion on this important line, PSBA. 1914, 256.

⁵ *I. e.*, to perish.

⁶ The meaning is uncertain. The mother goddess nowhere else appears as hostile to man until he eats of the cassia and is cursed. *ba-ni-in-rig* might of course be rendered by *urabbiš*, "she devastated," which is the most natural rendering. Perhaps we have to do with the verb *rig* > *ri* to fashion, build, whence *rib* "form," v. *Sum. Gr.* 234. In the latter case we should render, "Ninharsag in the fields had fashioned (men), (but) the fields received the waters of Enki."

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| 40. <i>ud-imin-ám</i> | 40. It was the seventh day [whose month is the seventh]. |
| 41. <i>ud-ussu-ám</i> | 41. It was the eighth day [whose month is the eighth]. |
| 42. <i>ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka</i> | 42. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; month of the cessation of the waters. |
| 43. <i>íá-lum¹-gim íá-lum-gim íá-dug-nun-na²-gim</i> | 43. Like fat, like fat, like <i>tallow</i> . |
| 44. [^d <i>nin-tud</i>]- <i>ama-kalama-ka</i> | 44. Nintud mother of the Land, |
| 45. [^d <i>nin-kùr-ra</i> ?] | 45. [<i>Even Ninkurra</i>], |
| 46. <i>in-tu-ud</i> | 46. had created them. |

OBVERSE III

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| 1. ^d <i>nin-tud gú-íd-da-gà-šú mi-ni-ib-gí</i> (?) | 1. Nintud to the bank of the river <i>summoned</i> . |
| 2. ^d <i>en-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne</i> ³ | 2. "Enki (for me) they are reckoned, yea are reckoned." |
| 3. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne gù-mu-na-de-e</i> | 3. Her herald the divine anointed ones ⁶ called. |
| 4. <i>galu-dumu⁴ šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi</i> ⁵ | 4. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against. |
| 5. ^d <i>nin-tud šág-ga-e-[ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi]</i> | 5. Nintud against the pious was not wroth. |
| 6. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí</i> | 6. Her herald the divine anointed ones caused to return. |
| 7. <i>galu-dumu šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-žu-te-bi</i> | 7. The sons of men who were pious she was not wroth against. |

¹ Probably the original of *íá-lu = lípá*, fat, tallow, AJSLS. 28, 219. Cf. DP. 2d I 3.

² The same word in *Gud. Cyl. A* 18, 21 where it follows *íá-nun*, butter.

³ The verb *im-da-lal* occurs in POEBEL, *Cr. VI* 4 *íá-da-ne-ne im-da-lal*, "With you he has been reckoned," *i. e.*, counted among the immortals. Cf. also line 2 *íá-ad-da íe-im-da-lal*, "With thee may he be reckoned." For *lal* in this sense note also *ba-ab-lal-en = tattadaššu*, "Thou countest him," BE. 29, 7 Rev. 53.

⁴ Cf. ZIMMERN, KL. 27 Rev. II, 9.

⁵ For *žu-teg = žáru*, v. BA. V. 638, 11.

⁶ Probably priests. Or perhaps the Anunnaki are meant.

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| <p>8. ^dnin-tud šág-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-un- zu-te-bi]</p> <p>9. lugal-mu ní-dirig-ga-ri¹ ní-dirig- ga-ri</p> <p>10. gír-ni áš-a ^{giš}má-a bé-in-gub</p> <p>11. 2 gu-ma² maškim³-ma nam⁴-mi- in-gub</p> <p>12. dū-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-an- su-teg</p> <p>13. ^den-ki-ge ašag-ga ba-ni-in-rig</p> <p>14. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki- ga-ka</p> <p>15. ud-àš-ám iti-àš-a-ni</p> <p>16. ud-min-ám iti-min-a-ni</p> <p>17. ud-elim-ám iti-elim-a-ni iti nam- sal-a-ka⁵</p> | <p>8. Nintud against the pious was not wroth.</p> <p>9. My king, who was filled with fear, yea was filled with fear,</p> <p>10. His foot <i>alone</i> upon the boat set.</p> <p>11. Two "bumbles," as watchmen he placed on guard.</p> <p>12. <i>Doubly he caulked the ship; torches he lighted.</i>⁶</p> <p>13. Enki devastated the fields.</p> <p>14. The fields received the waters of Enki.</p> <p>15. It was the first day, whose month is the first.</p> <p>16. It was the second day, whose month is the second.</p> <p>17. It was the ninth day, whose month is the ninth; the month of the cessation of the waters.</p> |
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¹ For this emphatic *ri*, v. *Sum. Gr.* §163; also *ri = ge* in *enem^amullilla-ri*, "the word of Enlil," *Bab. Lit.* 186 Rev. 11. Literally "the terror filled."

² *kanšê*, dual of *kanšu*, "the humble," a designation for slaves or attendants. Wholly uncertain. For *gum* a derivative of *gam = kanāšu*, cf. *Sum. Gr.* 218.

³ This sign which recurs in line 31 below has at the beginning an element identical with the first part of the sign *gidim = utukku*; also *maškim = utukku*, RA. 10, 71 II 10. In all other known examples this sign begins with PA. cf. *Maništusu A* 14, 6, etc. Some confusion between these two signs must be supposed to explain the form here.

⁴ *nam* is not negative here and the positive force can be paralleled; *nam-la-e-gál = tapti*, "thou hast opened," IV R 20 No. 2, 3; *na-ám-mà-ni = ublamma*, SBP. 172, 36; *nam-ma-ra-è* (From his queen), "he caused him to go forth," SBP. 284, 16. *éš-é-ninnū-la ūg-ga nam-la-è min-kam-ma é-šū ūg-u-ne bé-dib*, "From the chamber of Eninnu at daybreak he went forth and again to the temple at midday he went," Gud. Cyl. A 8, 1. *gū-nam-mi-de*, "he called," SAK. 12 VI 7; *gū-nam-mi-in-de*, CT. 16, 20, 132; cf. 22, 236. This *nam* is obviously the emphatic *nam* seen in *nanam* an emphatic enclitic; *šu-gi-me na-nam*, "verily I take hold," II R. 16, 36; *kūr gīg-gīg-ga-na-nam*, "the land it afflicts," SBP. 44, 3 (cf. 5). Note also *na-mu-un-ba-al*, "verily he transgresses against," SBP. 284, 12 ff.

⁵ The second rehearsal omits the months 3-8. This form of recital describes in a vivid manner the gradual rise of the waters and the monotony of their long duration.

⁶ Cf. *NE-sú-ud = tiparu*, torch, BA. V, 708, 4. This phrase is wholly uncertain. *su-teg* in *nig-su-teg*, KL. 78 R. 19 has a meaning synonymous with "atonement, purification."

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| <p>18. <i>íá-lum-gim íá-lum-gim íá-dug-nun-na-gim</i></p> <p>19. [^d<i>nin-kùr-ra íá-lu</i>]m</p> <p>20. ^d<i>nin-tu</i>[<i>d ama kalama-ka</i>] <i>in-tu-ud</i></p> <p>21. ^d<i>nin-kùr-ra</i> [<i>gú-íd-da-gà-šú</i>] <i>mi-ni-[ib-gí?]</i></p> <p>22. ^d<i>en-ki-ge mà-ra im-[da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</i></p> <p>23. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne</i> [<i>gù-mu-na-de-e</i>]</p> <p>24. <i>galu-dumu-šág-ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-[zu-te-bi]</i></p> <p>25. ^d<i>nin-kùr-ra šág-[ga-e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-te-bi]</i></p> <p>26. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gí-gí</i></p> <p>27. <i>galu-dumu šág-ga-e-ne su-in-SAL+KU-ni</i></p> <p>28. ^d<i>nin-kùr-ra šág-[ga-e-ne su-in-SAL+KU-ni]</i></p> <p>29. <i>lugal-mu ní-dirig-ga-ri ní-dirig-ga-ri</i></p> <p>30. <i>gír-ni áš-a</i> ^{siš}<i>má-a bé-in-gub</i></p> <p>31. 2 <i>gu-ma maškim-ma nam-mi-in-gub</i></p> <p>32. <i>dū-im-ma-an-tab gibil-im-ma-ni-su-te</i></p> <p>33. ^d<i>en-ki-ge ašag ba-ni-in-rig</i></p> | <p>18. Like fat, like fat, like <i>tallow</i>,</p> <p>19. Ninkurra¹ (like) fat,</p> <p>20. Nintud [mother of the Land] had created them.</p> <p>21. Ninkurra [to the shore of the river had <i>summoned</i>].</p> <p>22. "Enki, for me they are reckoned, yea they are reckoned."</p> <p>23. Her herald the divine anointed ones had called.</p> <p>24. The pious sons of men she was not wroth against.</p> <p>25. Ninkurra against the pious sons of men was not wroth.</p> <p>26. Her herald caused the divine anointed ones to turn unto her.</p> <p>27. The pious sons of men she.....</p> <p>28. Ninkurra the pious.....</p> <p>29. My king the terror filled, the terror filled,</p> <p>30. His foot <i>alone</i> on the ship had set.</p> <p>31. Two "bumbles" as watchmen on guard he had placed.</p> <p>32. <i>Doubly he had caulked the ship; torches he had lighted.</i></p> <p>33. Enki devastated the fields.</p> |
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¹ This title of Nintud does not occur in the great list, CT. 24, 12 and 24, 25 but has the same import as the title *Ninḫarsag*, "lady of the mountains." Both names reflect the ancient home of a mountain dwelling people who spoke of their great mother goddess in this way. In fact the great list does apply this name to the major type of mother goddess Innini, CT. 25, 30, Obv. 5. This aspect common to both branches of the unmarried goddess is seen in ^d*Nintud ama-maḡ kùr-kùr-ra-ge*, "Nintud, great mother, she of the mountains," *Babyl. Liturgies* No. 102 ll. 3 and 7. In later texts Ninkurra developed into a patroness of stonemasons and quite an independent deity, II R. 58, 68; VR 61 IV 17; ZIMMERN, *Beiträge*, 142, 15; *ibid.*, Col. III 6; also No. 38, 20; WEISSBACH, *Miscel.*, XII 31; CT. 26, VI 77; MEISSNER-ROST, *Senecherib*, p. 19, l. 20.

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| <p>34. ašag-ga šu-ba-ni-in-ti a ^den-ki-ga-ka</p> <p>35. ud-àš-ám iti àš-a-ni</p> <p>36. ud-elim-ám iti elim-a-ni iti nam-sal-a-ka</p> <p>37. íá-lum-gim íá-lum-gim ía-dug-nun-na-gim</p> <p>38. ^dnin-kùr-ra ía-lum</p> <p>39. ^dtag-túg sal-ni-dīm in-.....</p> <p>40. ^dnin-tud-ri ^dtag-tug-[ra] gù-mu-na-de-e</p> <p>41. na-ga-e¹-rig na-rig-mu.....</p> <p>42. gù-ga-ra-dúg(?) enim-enim-mu</p> <p>43. galu-àš-ám mà-ra im-da-lal-[-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</p> <p>44. ^den-ki-ge mà-ra im-[da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne]</p> <p>45. igi-im-?-e-.....</p> | <p>34. The fields received the waters of Enki.</p> <p>35. It was the first day whose month is the first.</p> <p>36. It was the ninth day whose month is the ninth; the month of the cessation of the waters.</p> <p>37. Like fat, like fat, like <i>tallow</i>,</p> <p>38. Ninkurra (like) fat [had created them].</p> <p>39. To the divine Tagtug she <i>revealed secrets</i>....</p> <p>40. Nintud to the divine Tagtug spoke.</p> <p>41. "Verily I will purge thee²; my purging.....</p> <p>42. I will tell thee; my words....</p> <p>43. Oh thou one man, for me [they were reckoned, yea were reckoned].</p> <p>44. Enki, for me has reckoned [has reckoned].</p> <p>45.</p> |
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One line broken from the end of this column.

REVERSE I

About twelve lines broken away before the first traces of lines in this column.

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| <p>13.sal-ni-dīm igi-im³....</p> <p>14.</p> | <p>13.<i>revealed secrets [caused] to see</i>....</p> <p>14.</p> |
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¹ See THUREAU-DANGIN in RA. 11, 53 for *e* indicating the second person both of the subject and object.

² *I. e.*, Ninharsag will explain how Tagtug escaped the universal catastrophe, and secured his pardon.

³ This verb occurred in the obliterated line Obv. III 39.

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| <p>38. ^den-ki-ge ^dTag-túg-ra gír-im-ma-an-gub 39. é-na al-de-de-e gál-kid gál-kid 40. a-ba me-en za-e me-en 41. mà-e nu-giš-šar gúl-si giš-ma¹. . . 42. X-dingir-šu ga-mu-ra-ab-sīg 43. ^dTag-túg šag-gúl-la-ni-ta é-e gál-ba-an-kid 44. ^den-ki-ge ^dTag-túg-ra sal-ni-dīm 45. gúl-áš gar-ra-na ba-na-ab-sum-mu 46. é-bara-gu-ul-dú-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu 47. é-rab-ga-ra-an-ba ba-na-ab-sum-mu 48. ^dTag-túg sal-ni-dim gub-mu-na-ab-zi šu-mu-na-sīg-gi</p> | <p>38. Enki for Tagtug waited 39. In his temple he cried, "Open the door, open the door. 40. Who is it that thou art?" 41. "I am a gardener joyful." 42. I will cause to be given unto thee. 43. The divine Tagtug with glad heart opened the temple's door. 44. Enki unto the divine Tagtug revealed secrets. 45. His. . . . he gave unto him joyously. 46. In E-baraguldu he gave unto him. 47. In Erabgaran he gave unto him. 48. The divine Tagtug was confided; the left hand he raised; the (right) hand he composed.</p> |
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REVERSE II

Here about six lines are obliterated.

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| <p>7. 8. [ú. im-ma-]an-mă 9. [ú. im-ma-]an-mă 10. [ú. im-ma-] an-mă 11. [ú. im-] ma-an-mă 12. [ú.] 13. [ú.] 14. ú [.] im-ma-an-mă 15. ^den-ki-ge mà-ra im-da-lal-e-ne im-da-lal-e-ne 16. sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne gù-mu-na-de-e</p> | <p>7. 8. [The plant.] grew. 9. [The plant.] grew. 10. [The plant.] grew. 11. [The plant.] grew. 12. [The plant.] grew. 13. [The plant.] grew. 14. The plant. grew. 15. "Enki, for me they are reckoned, they are reckoned." 16. Her herald the divine anointed ones called.</p> |
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¹ giš-ma is the ordinary ideogram for *tittu*, fig.

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| <p>17. <i>ú mà-e nam-bi li-bé-sá</i></p> <p>18. <i>a-na-ám bé-e a-na-ám bé-e</i></p> <p>19. <i>sukkal-a-ni dingir-guda-ne mu-na-ni-gí-gí</i></p> <p>20. <i>[lugal]-mu ú-gi¹ mu-na-ab-bi</i></p> <p>21. <i>mu-na²-kud-dé ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>22. <i>lugal-mu ú-gurun mu-na-ab-bi</i></p> <p>23. <i>mu-na-sir-ri ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>24. <i>lugal-mu ú- mu</i></p> <p>25. <i>mu-na-kud-dé ba</i></p> <p>26. <i>lugal-mu ú-a-gūg mu</i></p> <p>27. <i>mu-na-sir-ri ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>28. <i>[lugal-mu] ú?-tu-tu mu</i></p> <p>29. <i>[mu-na-kud-dé] ba</i></p> <p>30. <i>[lugal-mu ú-] mu</i></p> <p>31. <i>[mu-na-sir-ri] ba</i></p> <p>32. <i>[lugal-mu ú-] mu</i></p> <p>33. <i>[mu-na-kud-dé] ba</i></p> <p>34. <i>[lugal-mu ú]- am-ğa-ru mu-na-ab-teg</i></p> <p>35. <i>[mu-na-sir-ri] ba-kur-e</i></p> <p>36. <i>. ú nam-bi bé-in-tar šāb-ba ba-ni-in-di</i></p> | <p>17. As for the plants, their fates I have determined forever.</p> <p>18. Something it is; something it is.</p> <p>19. Her herald caused the divine anointed ones to return unto her.</p> <p>20. My king as to the woody plants she commanded:</p> <p>21. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."</p> <p>22. My king as to the fruit bearing plants, she commanded:</p> <p>23. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."</p> <p>24. My king as to the plants, she commanded:</p> <p>25. "He shall cut off; he shall eat."</p> <p>26. My king as to the prickly plants, she commanded:</p> <p>27. "He shall pluck; he shall eat."</p> <p>28. My king as to the plants she commanded:</p> <p>29. "[He shall cut off;] he shall eat."</p> <p>30. [My king as to the plants] she commanded:</p> <p>31. "[He shall pluck; he shall eat]."</p> <p>32. [My king as to the plants she commanded]:</p> <p>33. "[He shall cut off; he shall eat.]"</p> <p>34. [My king] the cassia plant approached.</p> <p>35. He plucked; he ate.</p> <p>36. the plant, its fate she had determined; therein she came upon it.³</p> |
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¹ This term appears to refer to exogenous plants whose fruits were used for food.

² *na* in the verbal forms of lines 21-33 has probably a locative force, "therefrom."

³ For the grammatical elucidation of this passage see PSBA. 1914, 191, note 8.

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| <p>37. ^dnin-ġar-sag-gà-ge mu ^den-ki nam-erim ba-an-kud</p> <p>38. i-dé na-ám-ti-la en-na ba-dìg-gi-a i-dé-ba-ra-an-bar-ri-en</p> <p>39. ^da-nun-na-ge-ne saġar-la im-mi- in-dúr-dúr-ru-ne-eš</p> <p>40. ġuš-a ^den-lil-ra mu-na-ra-ab-bi</p> <p>41. ma-e ^dnin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-ši-du- mu-un a-na-ám nig-ba-mu</p> <p>42. ^den-lil tud ġuš-a mu-na-ni-ib- gí-gí</p> <p>43. za-e ^dnin-ġar-sag-gà mu-e-du-mu- un-nam</p> <p>44. uru-mà 2 giš-mal¹ ga-ri-dū mu-ṣu ġe-pad-di</p> <p>45. elim? sag-ni áš-ám² im-ma-an- pèš-pèš³</p> <p>46. [ġir?]-ni áš-ám im-ma-an-búr- búr</p> <p>47. ġi-ni áš-ám ġibil-bé-in-gar</p> | <p>37. Ninharsag in the name of Enki uttered a curse.</p> <p>38. "The face of life until he dies not shall he see."⁴</p> <p>39. The Anunnaki in the dust sat down (to weep).⁵</p> <p>40. Angrily unto Enlil she spoke.</p> <p>41. "I Ninharsag begat thee children and what is my reward?"⁶</p> <p>42. Enlil the begetter angrily replied;</p> <p>43. Thou oh Ninharsag hast begotten children, (therefore)</p> <p>44. "In my city two creatures I will make for thee," shall thy name be called.</p> <p>45. The renowned—his head as a prototype she had moulded.</p> <p>46. His foot as a prototype she had designed.</p> <p>47. His eyes as a prototype she had made luminous.</p> |
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¹ In the legend of creation DT. 41 line 9, Ninġiazag, *i. e.*, Ea, creates two *šu-ba-[re]*. This restoration is plausible but uncertain. "Two small creatures" is the version generally given for this line. *giš-mal* would be rendered perhaps by *šiknatu*, "creature."

² Literally *maḫrū, restū*, "first."

³ *pèš*, "to sculpture," *pašāšu, pašādu*. Both verbs are doubtful but for *pašādu* compare MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 18, 7, *kišir šadē ina aggullat ēri lu-ḫi-ši-id*, "the living rock with bronze axes I hewed." Note also *pèš = purkullu*, sculptor, and *paššuru*, plate.

⁴ That is freedom from disease he shall no longer have.

⁵ A similar passage occurs in the Babylonian version, *Epic of Gilgamesh* XI 125, where "the gods who are the Anunnaki" weep over mankind with Ishtar who had begotten men. The text has *ilāni šu-ut i^{lu} A-nun-na-ki*. For *šu-ut* in the sense of *id est*, "that is," see CT. 17, 42, 13, *dNintud šu-ut dMaġ*, "Nintud, that is Mah."


⁶ With this passage compare Genesis 6, 6: "And Jahweh repented that he had made man on the earth and he was vexed in his heart." See also on the idea of God's expressing regret for what he had done in Hebrew, SKINNER, *Genesis* 151.

REVERSE III

About five lines are broken away.

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| 6. <i>ne en^d en-lil</i> | 6. the lord Enlil |
| 7. <i>ne en-zi</i> | 7. the lord |
| 8. <i>šu mu-du-ne en dingir</i> | 8. To <i>they went</i> , the lord, god |
| 9. <i>šu mu-du-ne en</i> ¹ | 9. To <i>they went</i> , the lord of <i>the gods</i> |
| 10. ? ? <i>ni-me-a zi(?) mu-mu ? ? mu</i> | 10. |
| 11. | 11. |
| 12. <i>dⁿⁱⁿ-gar-sag-gâ-ge ? im-</i> | 12. Ninharsag |
| 13. | 13. |
| 14. | 14. |
| 15. | 15. |
| 16. | 16. |
| 17. <i>teg ba-an-</i> | 17. |
| 18. <i>dⁿⁱⁿ-gar-sag-gâ-ge é ? kâs-im-ma-</i> <i>an-</i> | 18. Ninharsag |
| 19. <i>d^{en}-lil</i> <i>šu-ga-ni ba-an-tùb-</i> <i>bi-eš</i> | 19. Of Enlil, in his <i>they re-</i> <i>posed</i> . |
| 20. <i>li-im-ra -an-ag-eš</i> | 20. |
| 21. <i>nam-im-ma-an-tar-eš</i> | 21. Fates they declared. |
| 22. <i>šu-li im-ra-an-bûr-ru-uš</i> | 22. Destiny they fixed. |
| 23. <i>dⁿⁱⁿ-gar-sag-gâ-ge</i> <i>la-na</i> <i>ba-ni-in-tùb</i> | 23. Ninharsag in her <i>reposed</i> . |
| 24. <i>šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig</i> | 24. "My brother what of thee is ill?" |
| 25. <i>utul-?-mu ma-gig</i> | 25. "My pastures are distressed." |
| 26. <i>d^{abû}² im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud</i> | 26. "Abu I have created for thee." |
| 27. <i>šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig</i> | 27. "My brother what of thee is ill?" |
| 28. <i>ú- tul-mu ma-gig</i> | 28. "My flocks are distressed." |
| 29. <i>dⁿⁱⁿ-tul-la³ im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud</i> | 29. "The queen of the flocks I have created for thee." |

¹ Read *dingir-ri-ne-ge(?)*.

² For Abu or Tammuz as a patron of pastures and flocks see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 54 n. 5, 162 and 8. In line 41 below his protection over vegetation is emphasized. Since the ideogram  in line 25 is followed by a broken sign the whole may possibly be an unknown group of signs for *re'itu*, pasture.

³ Nintulla also in CT. 24, 26, 113, where she is the consort of Negin.

30. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-zi KA mu ma-gig*
31. ^d*Nin-KA ú-tud im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
32. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig ka mu ma-gig*
33. ^d*nin-ka-si¹ im-ma-ra-an-tu-ud*
34. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig [. . . mu ma-gig]*
35. ^d*na-zi² im-ma³-ra-[an-tu-ud]*
36. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig da-[zi-mu ma-gig]*
37. ^d*Da-zi-mā-a im-ma-ra-[an-tu-ud]*
38. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig til-[mu ma-gig]*
39. ^d*nin-til⁴ im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]*
40. *šeš-mu a-na-zi a-ra-gig mē-mu [ma-gig]*
41. ^d*en-šág-mē im-ma-ra-an-[tu-ud]*
42. *túl-túl-lá-ba⁵ tu-ne-en-na-áš gar-ra-[ne-en-na-áš]*
43. ^d*ab-ú lugal ú ġe-a*
44. ^d*nin-tul-la en má-gan-na ġe-a*
30. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."
31. "*Nin-KA-ú-tud* I have created for thee."
32. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My mouth is distressed."
33. "The queen who fills the mouth (with wine) I have created for thee."
34. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."
35. "The goddess *Naṣi* I have created for thee."
36. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My . . . is ill."
37. "The goddess *Dazimā* I have created for thee."
38. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My health is ill."
39. "The queen of life I have created for thee."
40. "My brother what of thee is ill?" "My understanding is distressed."
41. "The Lord who renders the understanding good I have created for thee."
42. Since grandly were they born, (grandly) they do,⁶
43. Abu lord of vegetation let be.
44. Nintulla lord⁷ of Magan let be.

¹ Ninkasi is a title of Geštinana, the vine goddess.

² See also CT. 24, 48, 10; a handmaid of Sin.

³ Text *NE!*

⁴ Probably goddess of femininity. In line 48 she is connected with the month (*iṣi*) and in III R. 66 Rev. 4 she follows ⁱ*lu-a-a-i-tu*, "Father of the month?"

⁵ The text has *lá-lá*; cf. *Sum. Gr.* §43 and p. 248 *tul.* 2.

⁶ The restoration is uncertain. Cf. *Sum. Gr.* §211 for emphatic *en-na*.

⁷ Sic! Here a male divinity?

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| 45. ^d nin-KA-ù-tud ^d nin-a-žu ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk | 45. May Nin-KA-u-tud Ninazu possess. ² |
| 46. ^d nin-ka-si nig-šag-si ġe-a | 46. May Ninkasi be she that fills the heart. |
| 47. ^d na-ži ù-mu-un-dar-a ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk | 47. May Nazi the lord of possess. ³ |
| 48. ^d da-ži-mă-a ži-im ġa-ba-an-tuk-tuk | 48. May Dazimā possess. |
| 49. ^d nin-[til] nin-iti-e ġe-a | 49. May Nintil be the mistress of the month. |
| 50. [^d en-šág-mê] en Dilmun-na ġe-a | 50. May Enšagme be lord of Dilmun. |
| 51. žag-sal ¹ | 51. Praise! |

NOTE ON OBVERSE III, 11

The two watchmen correspond to the boatman of Utanapištim in the Gilgamesh Epic story. In that legend we have considerable warrant for supposing that on the ship Utanapištim really had two boatmen also, for there is great confusion regarding the name of the boatman. In Col. X his name occurs six times as Ur-Nimin⁴ and in the same manner seven times in Col. XI. Since Nimin or "forty," is the sacred number for the god Ea, this name should probably be rendered Ur-Ea. On the other hand, the same name occurs twice in Col. XI as Ur-Ninnū, where Ninnū or "fifty," is the sacred number of Enlil. In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 23, 48-50, the author concluded that the original

¹ Cf. *Historical and Religious Texts*, BE. XXXI, p. 18.

² Uncertain. Ninazu, "Lord of healing," is an epithet of Nergal. I understand the line to mean, "May N. have Ninazu's skill."

³ Cf. note 2.

⁴ *Nimin*, written with four heads, is the sacred number of the god Ea. By confusion this sign came to mean *šanabi* (4/6) which in No. 4604 (pt. 2) actually means Ea. DHORME seems to be responsible for the reading *Ur-Shanabi*, which Ungnad and Rogers have adopted. THUREAU-DANGIN explained the origin of *šanabi*, see O.L.Z. 1909, 383 and *Sum. Gr.* p. 121.

name was Ur-Enlil or Ur-Ninnū; but in XI 95 this same boatman is named *Pu-ṣu-ur-īu Kurgal*, which I take to be a Semitic view of the meaning of the Sumerian name Ur-Enlil. If this be true then we have only one boatman in this story. If, however, *Puṣur-īu Kurgal* represents originally another person then this story also mentioned two boatmen. In favor of regarding *Puṣur-īu Kurgal* as identical with Ur-Enlil is first of all the fact that *īu Kūr-gal* in this poem, which was composed in the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, obviously refers to Enlil; see for this meaning of *kūr-gal*, SBP. 220, 1; 280, 13; IV Raw. 23 A 29. The reading *Puṣur-īu Amurrū*¹ is certainly false, for *kūr-gal* became a title of the western Adad or *īu Amurrū*, only in the late period; see CLAY, BE. X 7 ff, and TALLQUIST, *Namenbuch* 233. Even here *kūr-gal* probably refers to Enlil in most cases. *Puṣur-īu Kurgal*, or *Puṣur-īu Enlil*, means, "The secret of Enlil," a name the Semites may have devised to replace Ur-Enlil, since by the craft of Ea, the secret plan of Enlil was revealed to Uta-napištim. Then again the Sumerian *Ur* may possibly have the meaning *puṣru*, "secret." Note that the Sumerian for *puṣru* is *gi-ra*, CT. 12, 2B 15. It is possible that *UR* also had a value *gir*. Both *UR* and *NITAḪ* have the meaning *ardu*, "male," and *NITAḪ* has the value *gir* as is proven by *īu NITAḪ-ra = gi-ra*, in MESSERSCHMIDT, KTA. 26, 12. Also *gīr-ra = gasru*, "strong," IV R. 9A 36, a title of the moon-god and *gīr-gīr-ni = mugdašru*, "the powerful," IV R. 21B rev., 14; *gīr-ra* glossed *ga-aš-ru*, K. 69, obv. 6=SBH. 19, 42. But the ordinary meaning of both *NITAḪ* and *UR* is, "virile, strong, manly," hence *UR* may well have the value *gir*. Supposing this to be true this sign would readily

¹ So UNGNAD, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* 52, and he is erroneously followed by ROGERS, *Cuneiform Parallels* 94.

be used for writing the word *gīra*(=*puḫru*) also. *Pu-ḫu-ur-^{iu}Kurgal*, may be a Semitic translation of *Ur-^{iu}Kurgal*, or *Ur-^{iu}Enlil*. Any of these theories may account for the various forms of this name and we have probably to assume but one boatman in the Babylonian account. Nevertheless the suggestion of two names which may have been confused is possible in view of the fact that the Nippurian version has two pilots or watchmen.

FRAGMENT OF A LEGEND CONCERNING ZI-UD-SUD-DU, HERO OF THE FLOOD

This single column tablet (No. 4611) probably belongs to still another epic on the Flood and the Fall of Man, which in this case was redacted on a series of small tablets. The portion here preserved consists of twenty-one consecutive lines from the end of the obverse and top of the reverse of a tablet now numbered 4611 in the University Museum Collection. In these lines a divinity which is almost certainly the mother goddess Nintud instructs the survivor of the Flood in religious and political matters. The same situation occurs in both the Epics which have been already published from the Museum Collection. After the Flood Nintud begins an address to the royal survivors at the end of Col. III in the Epic of the Fall of Man (No. 4561). The hero is there called Tagtug. This address is almost wholly lost on that tablet, but the succeeding address to Tagtug by Enki and also another by the mother goddess have been preserved there. The Epic of Creation and the Flood (No. 10673) in Col. IV also contains an address to this hero who there bears the same name as in fragment No. 4611. Here Nintud¹ warns her protégé concerning the catastrophe and provides for his escape in a ship precisely as in the Epic of the Fall. But the fragmentary lines at the end of the sixth column of the Epic of Creation and the Flood (No. 10673) have led us to infer that according to this version Zi-ud-sud-du (or Zi-ud-gid-du) was translated to a blessed

¹ This divinity is most certainly the subject of the address in No. 10673.

land or isle. On the contrary, the Epic of the Fall makes him (Tagtug) a gardener and like the Biblical account of Noah he continues his life among men.

From the fragment 4611 it is obvious that this third version held the same view of the survivor of the Flood. Zi-ud-sud-du continues his earthly career and under the guidance of the gods teaches men the proper worship of the gods and establishes justice and mercy among men. We shall with further investigation of the Nippur Collection recover other portions of this legend and the instructions revealed to the hero of the Flood for the regulation of human society. We may also expect sooner or later to recover portions of these post-diluvian instructions and revelations which correspond to those delivered to Noah in both the J¹ and P² documents.

The information derived from fragment 4611 throws doubt upon our interpretation of the last lines of No. 10673, in which Zi-ud-sud-du is supposed to have been translated from among men.³ This assumption was based more upon the Babylonian statements concerning Utanapishtim and those of Berossus concerning Xisuthrus than upon anything in the text of No. 10673. Nevertheless the fragmentary lines do point to this conclusion and we must assume that the Sumerians held conflicting views about the post-diluvian history of Zi-ud-sud-du or Tagtug. They also applied two epithets to this hero and the fragment which is edited on the following page shows that *Zi-ud-sud-du* and *Tag-tug* denote the same person.

¹ Genesis, 8, 15-22.

² Genesis, 9, 1-17.

³ See above, p. 15, and POEBEL, *Creation and Deluge*, p. 61.

4611

OBSERVE

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ga- | 1. |
| 2. <i>zi-ud-sud-du</i> ¹ <i>enim ga-[ra-ab</i> <i>dug-dug]</i> | 2. Oh Zi-udsuddu a command “[I will speak to thee] ³ |
| 3. <i>na-ri-ga-mu</i> ² <i>šu-zi-dé [ga-mu-</i> <i>nariga]</i> | 3. My purification faithfully [<i>will</i> <i>I accomplish</i>].” |
| 4. <i>dug-dug-ga mu-na-ab-te(g)</i> | 4. Words to him she spoke |

REVERSE

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>TUD na-an-gaz zag (?) é?</i> | 1. In not shall be sacri- ficed; <i>beside</i> the |
| 2. <i>na-an-gaz-gaz zag ingar e-</i> <i>[gaz-gaz?]</i> | 2. In not shall be sacrificed; <i>beside</i> the brick wall shalt thou [<i>sacrifice</i>] |
| 3. <i>é-gal na-an-gaz-gaz zag</i> <i>šú(?) úr(?)</i> | 3. In of the palace not shall be sacrificed; <i>beside</i> the [<i>shalt thou sacrifice</i>] |
| 4. <i>sag-kùr-ra</i> ⁴ <i>kùr-bi-éš-ša e-</i> | 4. The slave from a strange land, to his land thou shalt [<i>cause</i> to return] |
| 5. <i>galu ki-nu-zi-a-ni ša-ù-um</i> | 5. Him that knows no place (home) shalt thou cause to [.] |
| 6. <i>dumu-mu ki</i> ^a <i>babbar è-a</i> | 6. My son where the sun goes up, |
| 7. <i>a gu-mu-ra-an-de-e igi-zi-šú gé</i> | 7. Shall he be thy water libator, before thee . . . shall he |
| 8. <i>é-nu-tuk é-a-ni tül-la-ba</i> | 8. Of him that has no house, his house enlarge. |
| 9. <i>uru-nu-tuk uru-ni tül-la-ba</i> | 9. Of him that has no city, his city enlarge. |
| 10. <i>la-ba-da-dug-li e-la-li?</i> | 10. Him that is not happy, with joy [<i>enthuse</i>]. |
| 11. [<i>dumu-</i>] <i>mu ki</i> ^a <i>babbar-è-[a]</i> | 11. My [son] where the sun goes up, |
| 12. <i>na-an-ni</i> | 12. |

¹ In view of this reading and of *zi-sud-da=ut-na-piš-te*, CT. 18, 30 a 9, it is probable that the sign *BU* in Ni. 10673 Obv. III 20, Rev. IV 2, V 7 has the value *sud* and that the vowel *u* at the end is due to harmony.

² See also Ni. 10673 Rev. IV 5 and *na-ri-mu*, Ni. 4561 Obv. III 41.

³ Restored from Ni. 10673 Rev. IV 4, and 4561 Obv. III 42.

⁴ Cf *NITAH* × *KÛR* = *ardu*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE

- I, II.....Light brown tablet. Baked. Built up from three fragments. Nearly complete. Three columns on obverse, and three on reverse. Measurements in centimeters, $19.7 \times 13.6 \times 3$. Sumerian epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man. C.B.S. 4561. Period of the Isin Dynasty.
- III, IV.....Light brown tablet. Unbaked. Large fragment from right edge of a three column tablet containing a Semitic poem on the creation of mankind. Formerly published by DR. T. G. PINCHES, *Cuneiform Tablets of the British Museum*, Vol. VI., pl. 6. Measurements in centimeters, $14 \times 13 \times 2.5$. Bu. 91-5-9, 269; in the British Museum. Period of First Babylonian Dynasty. See page 25.
- IV.....Slate-colored fragment from right edge of a baked tablet belonging to the Ašurbanipal Library. Not more than half the column is preserved in width and only a slight portion of the column in length. The text belongs to the Assyrian redaction of the Eridu version of the Fall of Man and is a variant of part of the obverse of a large tablet found at Amarna, which contains the central portion of the Canaanitish Version. See KNUDZON, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 356. K. 8743; in the British Museum. See page 42.
- IV A.....Light brown. Baked. End of obverse and top of reverse of a single column tablet. Measurements in centimeters, $7 \times 5.1 \times 2.5$. C.B.S. 4611. See page 90.

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Mami (ilat), title of mother goddess as creatress, 17 f. Creates man from blood and clay, 25. In great theological list, CT. 24, 13, 41 = 25, 96. Same name as earlier ^d*Ma-ma*, root \sqrt{mal} = *banû*, "to build, create." *Mama* does not occur before Sargon the ancient, but the title is earlier than Aruru. Without *dingir* in n. pr. at Agade; Gimil-ma-ma, Stèle of Maništusu, 8, 22: at Ur also without *dingir*; Amar-ma-ma, Ur-ma-ma, LEGRAIN, *Les Rois d'Ur*, 331, 7. Cf. Ur-ma-mi, THUREAU-DANGIN, *Recueil de Textes Chaldéens*, 353 I 3, but Ur-^dMa-mi, 398 II 4; Bur-^dMa-mi, DeClercq Catalogue, 209. In Hammurapi period, Utul-^dMa-mi, and Ma-mi-šarrat, RANKE, *Personal Names*, 201. See also THUREAU-DANGIN, *Lettres et Contrats*, 63. Hymn in Semitic to Ma-ma, CT. 15, 1 f. In proper names of Cassite period ^dMa-ma; see CLAY, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period*, 206. Disappears after Cassite period. In theological list, CT. 24, 13, 40 = 25, 96. The title *A-ma* and *A-mà* (*MAL*) is connected with *Mama*, and is the ordinary title of the mother goddess Nintud at Agade. Šargalisarri built her temple at Babylon (SAK. 225c), in Neo-Babylonian period called Emah of Ninmah, see VAB. IV, Index. For this temple to A-mà in Babylon see RTC. 118 Rev. 5. In n. pr. ^dA-mà-išdagal, Stèle Maništusu, C. XIII 24; XIX 28. The priest of A-mà, *ibid.* A. XV

19. Maništušu is šakkanak of ^dA-mà, RA. 9, 92, 11. Urumuš mentions her with Shamash as deity in Agade, RA. 8, 138 Col. I. Also in a letter of the Hammurapi period, CT. 29, 43, 25+40. [Source unknown.] At Dir, a city in Ašnunak, mentioned in the Sargon Stone, dated in the 11th year of Sargon of Assyria and written in Babylonian, Col. IV 27, a man is šangu of ^{ilat}A-mà. In Neo-Babylonian period the title survives. ^{ilu}Anim ^{ilu}Enlil u ^{ilat}A-mà arrassu marrutu li-i-ru-ur, "May Anu, Enlil and Ama each curse him with his (her) bitter curse," STRASSMAIER, *Cyrus*, 277, 17. The title has been read falsely A-É (= *mar bīti*) in n. pra. of the late period, TALLQUIST, *Neu-babylonisches Namenbuch*, 226. Not to be confused with DUMU-É = *mar bīti*. A marble slab from Agade, OBI pl. VII Col. V 4 has ^dA-mà (HINKE, *Boundary Stones*, 220). On the other hand, ^dA-É = *mar bīti* = Nebo, is certain in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I 2761+3, ^{ilat}Nanā u ^{ilu}A-É (Kudurru of Nabušum iškun). Cf. *ibid.* I 17 ^{ilu}A-É *kardu mugdašru* and Nanā is *hīrat ilu Nabu* in I. 5, hence A-É = *mar bīti* = Nabu is certain from ninth century. When the signs MAL and É are confused the rendering must be settled by the context in the late

period. In theological list, CT. 24, 13, 39=25, 95.
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symbol on boundary stones is the altar with oval band and occurs beside those of the great trinity, Anu, Enlil, Ea. See HINKE, *Boundary Stones*, p. 6, fig. 2, No. 7, etc. Also DEIMEL, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Rome, 1914, p. 208.

Nin-kurra (ilat), 77, 19, 21, 25, 28; 78, 38.

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Nintud (ilat), one of principal titles of mother goddess as patroness of birth. Creates man, 16; 17 n. 2; 17; 18 n. 6. Liturgy to her, 19 f. Woman created in her image. Saves mankind in the flood, 28; serpent deity, 37. In the Nippur epic, 73, 21, 23; 75, 44; 75, 1; 75, 5, 8; 77, 20; 78, 40. The reading is certainly *Nintud* not *Nintur* as DEIMEL, *Pantheon Babylonicum* 221 has read. The second sign is REC. 147 *tud* = *banû* not *tur* = *erebu*, REC. 144, 145, 56. See Ham. Code III 35. Also ^d*nin-tu-ud*, CT. 24, 12, 13 = ^d*nin-tud* 24, 25, 82. Note also her title *ummu bânîtu*, "begetting mother," where *tud* is rendered by *bânîtu*, Code XLIV 40, and as ^dMağ she is *ummu bânîti-ia*, VAB. IV 128, 16; as ^dNinmağ she is also *ummu bânîti-ia*, KING, *Letters and Inscriptions*, 201, 45. In ^d*nin-tud-ra*, POEBEL, *Creation Epic*, I 3, *ra* is either an emphatic particle or the postposition *ra*. The forms ^d*nin-tud-tud-ri*, CT.

24, 25, 81 and ^d*nin-tud-ri*, p. 82, 40 and BL. 54, 5, probably contain the word *ri* < *rib* = *du-nanu* "form," and the whole should be rendered *beltu bânît dunani*, "Queen, creatress of forms." As a married type she is associated with ^dŠulsîgè, CT. 24, 25, 97, and BL. 91, 13.

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Legend of, p. 90.

ABBREVIATIONS

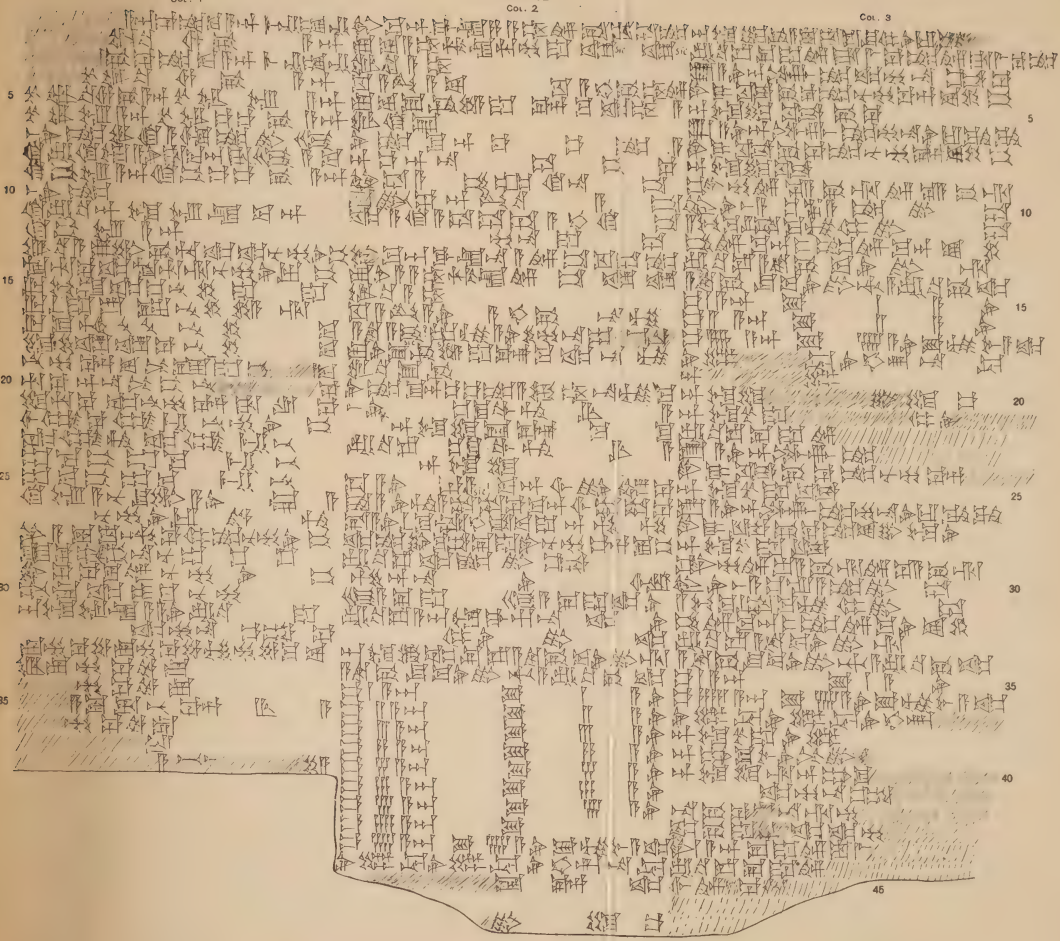
- AJSL. American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
 ASKT. Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, by PAUL HAUPT.
 BA. Beiträge zur Assyriologie, ed. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH and PAUL HAUPT.
 Bab. Babyloniaca, ed. CHAS. VIROLLEAUD.
 BE. Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, ed. H. V. HILPRECHT.
 BL. Babylonian Liturgies, by S. LANGDON.
 C.B.S. Catalogue of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum.
 CT. Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.
 DP. Documents Pré-sargoniques, by ALLOTTE DE LA FUÏE.
 KL. Altbabylonische Kultlieder, by H. ZIMMERN.
 KTA. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, by L. MESSERSCHMIDT.
 OLZ. Orientalische Literaturzeitung, ed. F. PEISER.
 PBS. Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum.
 PSBA. Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature.
 R. or Raw. Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, begun by H. C. RAWLINSON, continued by GEORGE SMITH, NORRIS and PINCHES.
 RA. Revue d'Assyriologie, ed. v. SCHEIL et FR. THUREAU-DANGIN.
 REC. Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cunéiforme, by FR. THUREAU-DANGIN.
 SAI. Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme, by B. MEISSNER.
 SAK. Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften, by FR. THUREAU-DANGIN.
 SBH. Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen, by G. REISNER.
 SBP. Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms, by S. LANGDON.
 Sum. Gr. A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy, by the same.
 VAB. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed. A. JEREMIAS and H. WINCKLER.
 ZA. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, ed. C. BEZOLD.

AUTOGRAPH PLATES

Col. 1

Col. 2

Col. 3



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Col. 3

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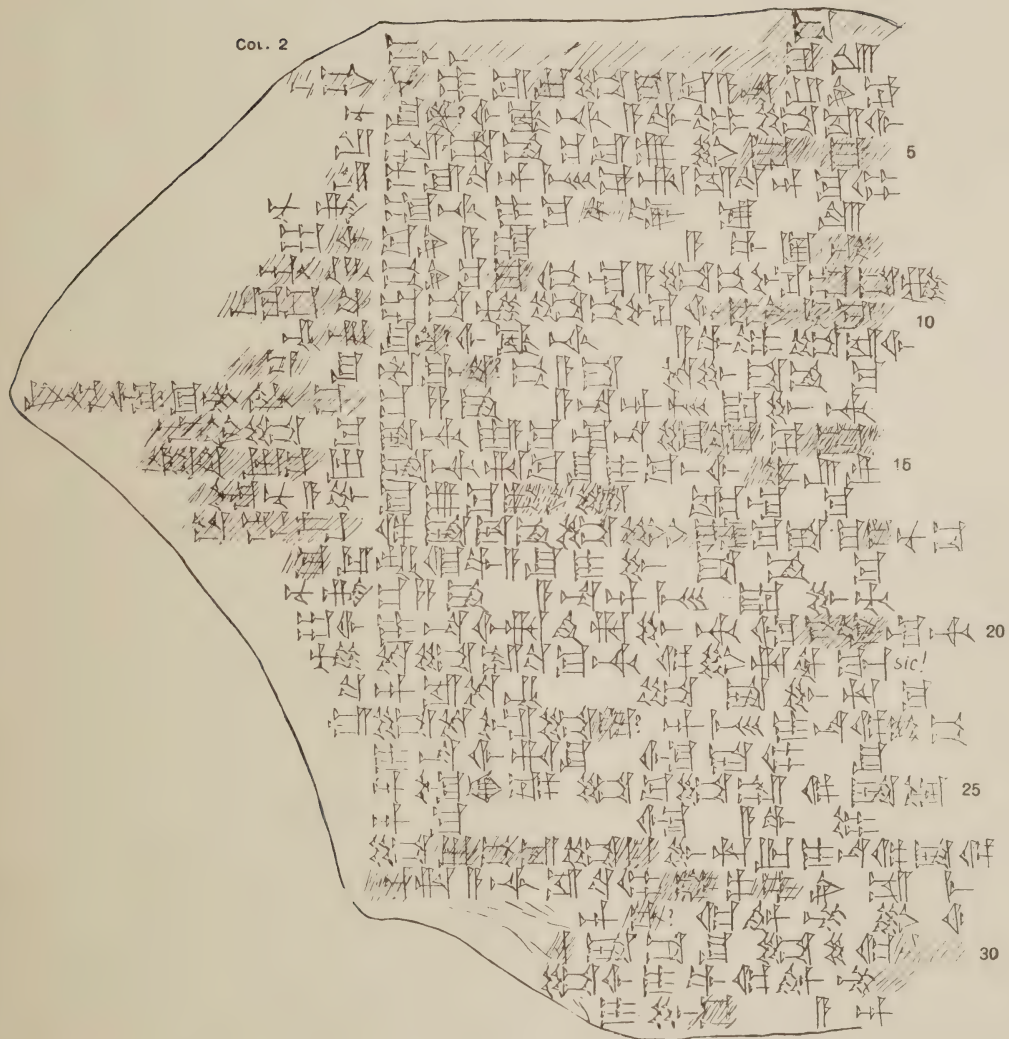
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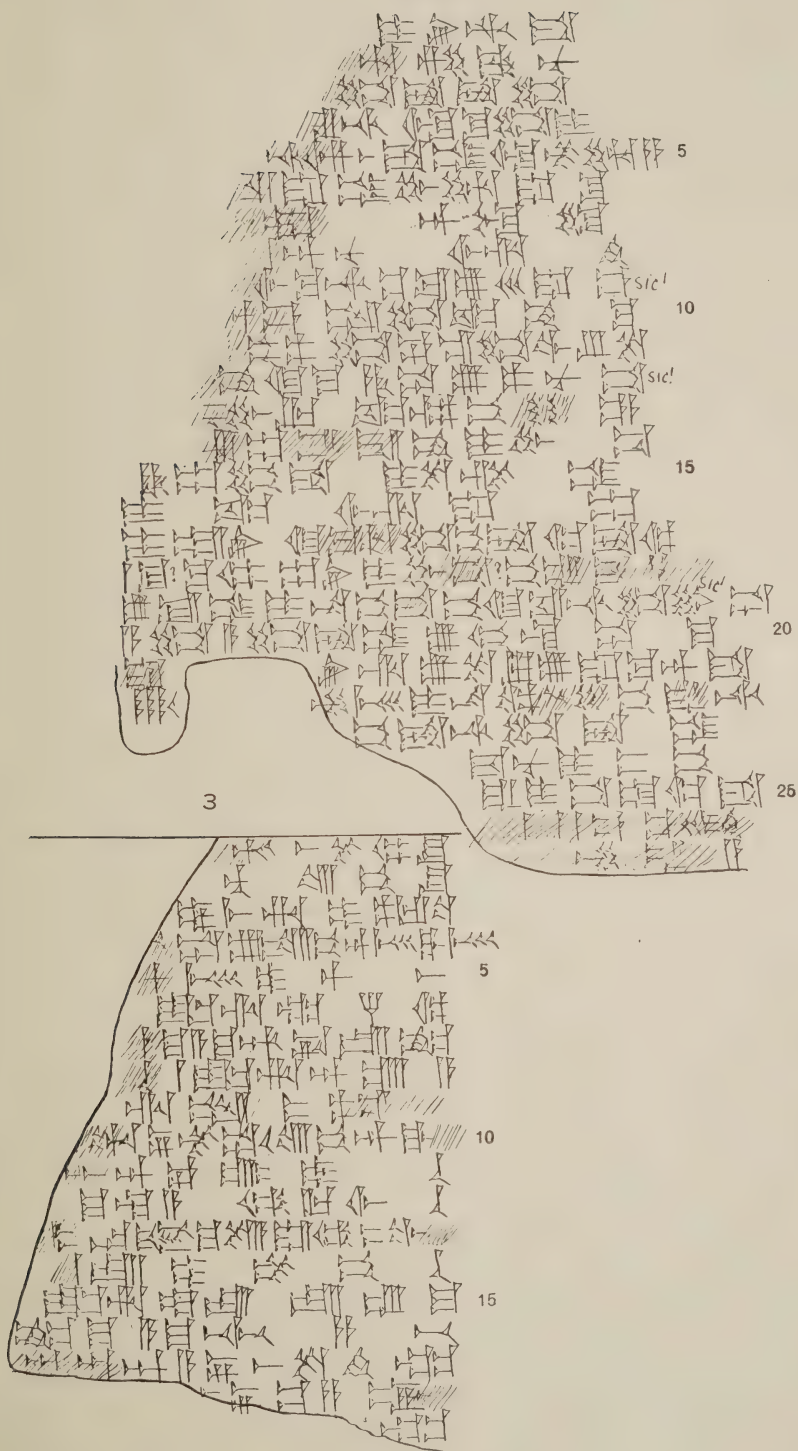
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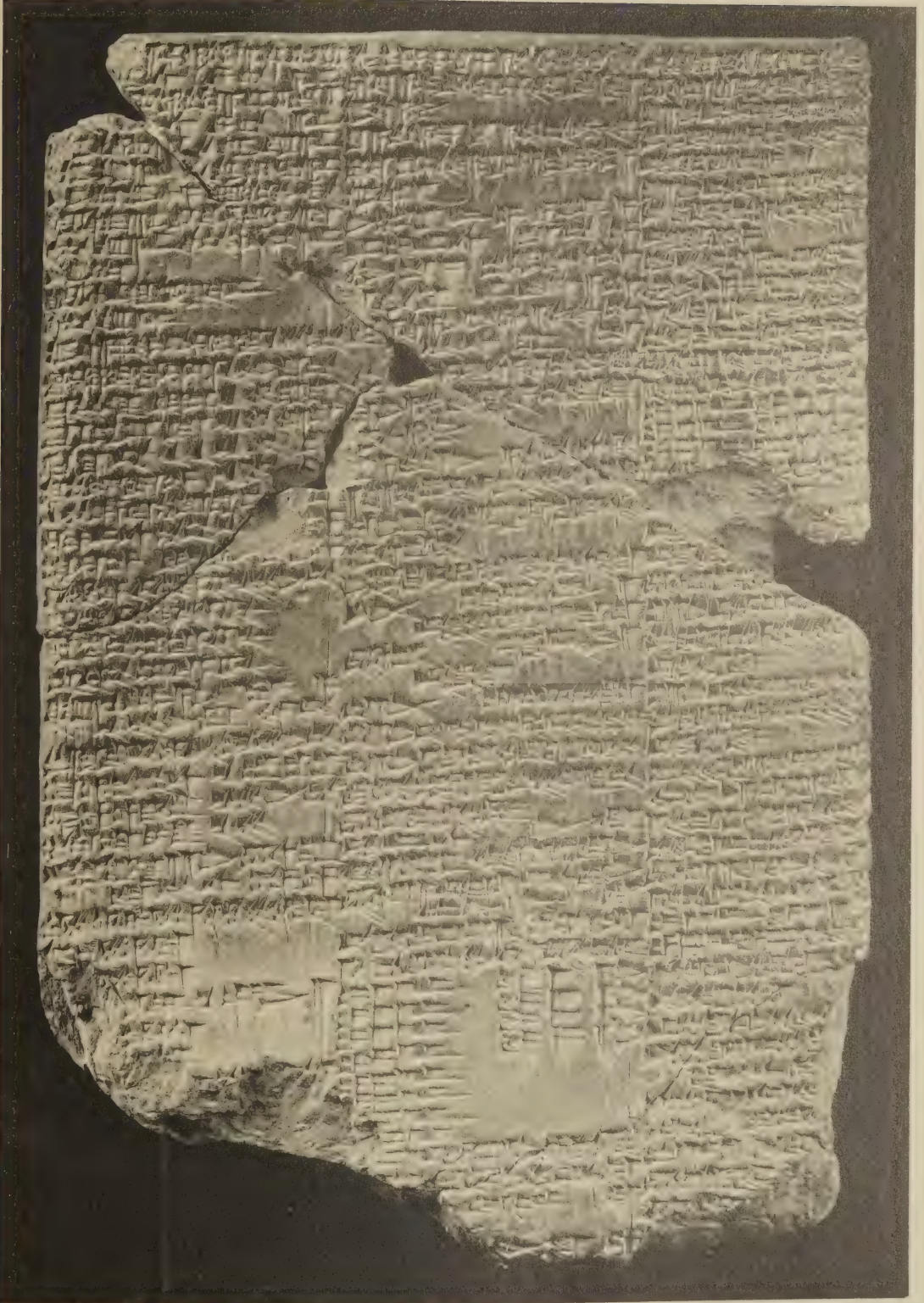
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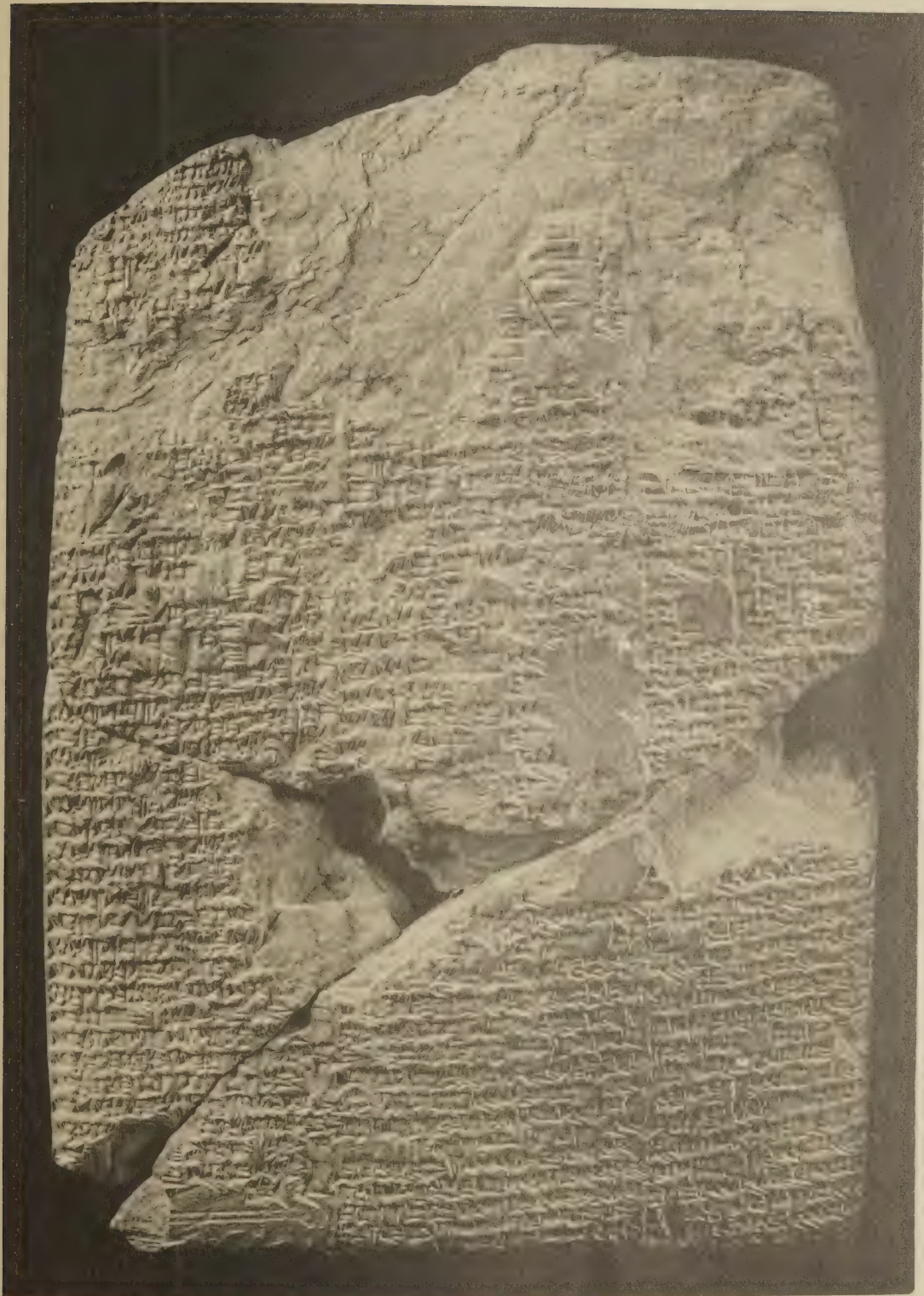


PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATES



OBVERSE

THE CREATION, FLOOD AND FALL OF MAN

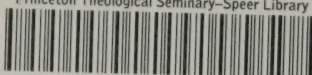


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THE CREATION, FLOOD AND FALL OF MAN

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Sumerian epic of paradise, the flood and

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



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